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Demosthenes
ORATIONS:

Translated from the Greek

By several Hands.

*Under the Direction of
D. Somers who is also
said to have translated
the Preface & to have
had in view the stirring
up of the English against
the Exorbitant Power
of Louis XIV.*

SEVERAL
ORATIONS



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OF

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SEVERAL
ORATIONS
OF

Demosthenes,

To Encourage the

ATHENIANS

To Oppose the

Exorbitant Power

OF

Philip of Macedon.

*English'd from the Greek by several
Hands.*

To which is prefix'd the Historical
PREFACE of *Monsieur Turreil.*

L O N D O N :

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THE PREFACE.

AN Interpreter's chief Duty consists in making his Author understood; of which, I think, I can't better acquit my self, than by setting before the Reader's Eyes a *Plan* of Old Greece, with an Abridgment of her History: Without which, *Demosthenes*, though translated, will still be mere *Greek* to those who are unacquainted with the Country; or who at best have but a slight confused Idea of it: They will be apt to stumble every Step they take, like those who are travelling in the dark, through unknown places; and if by intervals some Rays of Eloquence should strike
(a) upon

upon 'em, they will be to them like Flashes of Lightning, which serve only to augment the Horrors of the Night in which they leave 'em. I must therefore, the best I can, unravel those Interests, and explain the Occurrences that bear any relation to this Subject. To this perhaps I ought to confine my self, and enter at first step into the Business. But to those who are more curious, an Enquiry into the very Birth of a Nation, so famous as that of Greece, and a Summary of what has been delivered thereupon, may not be unacceptable: 'Tis a Digression will not draw me far out of the way. I shall insist chiefly upon what is most material to my present Design, and glance only upon the rest.

(1) Plin.

Hist. Nat.

l. 4. c. 7.

Ibid. l. 14.

c. 4.

Thucyd.

l. 1.

(2) Arist. at

the end of

his 1st. Book

of Meteors.

Plin. ibid.

The Grecians were so called either from a Petty Borough, or a very obscure King: (1) But it was a Name they quickly quitted for that of *Hellenes*, or *Achaians*: (2) By which two last they chose to pass in their own Works. The extream Rusticity of these first Grecians wou'd appear almost

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most incredible, if their own Historians were not to be rely'd upon in that Point. Who wou'd think a People so proud of their Original, as to have recourse to some Fables to make it more Illustrious, shou'd be at the pains of inventing others for the debasing it? or that a Nation to whom we stand indebted for whatever we have of Letters, and the Sciences, shou'd be descended from Savages, who knew no other Law but Force, who had no knowled of Husbandry, but fed like Beasts on Grass? Witness the Divine Honours they decreed him, *who first taught'em to feed on Acorns, as a more wholesome Nourishment than that of Herbs. Notwithstanding this change of Food, still did they continue rough and unpolish'd, and that for a long time after. The weakest were not the last who grew sensible of the necessity there was for Civil Society, as a means to secure'em from Violence and Oppression. By this they were put upon building of Houses; whose numbers increasing insensibly, grew into Boroughs and Cities. Nor cou'd

* Pelasgus.
Apol. l. 2.

c. i.
Pausan.

l. 8.

(a) 2

this

(1) Hero-
dot. l. 5.
c. 58. 59.
& 60.
Iof. cont.
App.
Plin. l. 5.
c. 12. &
l. 7. c. 56.
Tacit. l. 2.

this Advantage of Cohabitation tame or soften their Tempers; an Honour reserved for *Egypt*, and *Phœnicia*; by Colonies from whence they became instructed and civiliz'd. The *Phœnicians* taught 'em (1) Navigation, Trade, and the use of Letters: *Egypt* polish'd 'em by her Laws; gave 'em a taste of the Arts and Sciences; initiated 'em in her Mysteries; and, to speak all in a word, gave 'em Kings and Gods. Thus this Nation, that in the splendor of her Fortune grew so presumptuous, as to look on the rest of the World, as no other than *Barbarians*, was forc'd to borrow from other Nations the very means by which she rais'd her self up to that pride and contempt of those same Nations.

A Famous Author has compar'd the duration of a People to the Life of Man; according to which Notion we may assign to *Greece* four different Ages distinguish'd by as many remarkable *Epoches*. The first includes near 700 Years, from the foundation of her Petty Royalities,

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to the Siege of *Troy* * : The Second about 800 more from the *Trojan War* to the Battle of *Marathon*. The Third something less than 200, from that Battle to the Death of *Alexander*: And the Last, an equal portion of Years from the Death of that Conqueror (after which she began to decline) 'till at last she sunk under the Power of the *Romans*. The Three first of these are what my present Design obliges me to consider; the last being of no use to it.

I ought to fear: Behind which, said he, our Eyes can't penetrate; nor can we determine any certain Calculation.

* An. Mun. 2820.
Ante Chr. 1184
Diodorus Siculus following therein A. polodorus assigns this famous Epoch as the very Compass by which Chronology

To her Infancy I refer the Foundation of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and *Sicyon*; the Attempt of the *Danaides*; the Labours of *Hercules*; from whom the *Macedonians* pretended to descend by *Caranus*; † *Plutar. in Alex. Just.* 17 c. 2.

Liv. Vell. Pauf. Suid. Herodotus contradicts this Opinion, (l. 8. c. 139) *Solinus*, (c. 15.) The old Historians reckoned *Pedecar*; the more Modern *Caranus* for the first King of *Macedon*. However it be, all agree in this; That this Monarchy began about the 22d Olympiad.

(a 3) pus;

the Expedition of the Argonauts ;
that of the Seven Captains against
Thebes ; Minos his War with Theseus ;
 And generally speaking, all the Ex-
 ploits of her first Heroes, who have
 still a place in the List of Fame, and
 that for a lasting and very weighry
 Reason. That preeminence of glo-
 ry, in which through so long a suc-
 cession of Ages they have been con-
 tinued down to our Days, is not so
 much the effect of a Blind Zeal for
 Antiquity, as the respect men natu-
 rally have for a Generous Valour,
 which protects the Weak instead of
 insulting 'em ; and which is so far
 from committing Violence, that it
 is always best pleased and employed
 in repressing it.

Greece being past her Infancy,
 tried her united Forces in this Siege,
 where her *Achilles, Ajax, Nestor, and*
Ulysses forewarned *Asia*, that one day
 She would be taught to obey their Po-
 sterity. All the World know the cause
 of this famous War, tho' perhaps
 everyone is not informed that there
 was an hereditary Quarrel between
 the Families of *Priam, and Agamem-*

mon. *Tantalus* King of *Phrygia*, Father
of *Pelops*, and by consequence, Great
grand-father * to *Agamemnon*, and *Me-* * Some say
nelaus, stole away *Ganymed* Brother Great
to *Ilus*, who being *Priam's* Grand- Great-
Father, highly resented an Injury Grand-Fa-
that touch'd him so nearly, he drove ther, and
Tantalus out of his Territories, and place Plif-
obliged him to flye for Refuge into thenes be-
Greece, where he laid the Foundati- tween A-
on of the *Pelopides*. We may add, treus and
that *Paris*, *Ilus* his Great Grand-son, Agamem-
by way of Reprisal, stole away Hel- non. Diod.
len from *Menelaus*, who was Great 1.4. Clem.
Grand-son to *Tantalus*: besides, what Alex.
ever the Greeks say, who would stain Strom. l. 1.
have their *Trojan* Expedition consi-
dered as a Preludium of their former
Victories over the *Barbarians*, we
learn from History, that the *Trojans*
were Originally of Greek Extracti-
on; for not only *Dardanus*, their first
King, was by Birth an *Arcadian*, *
and their very names, for the most * Varro,
part, such as *Priamus*, *Anchises*, *Hector*, and all the
Andromache, and *Astyanax*, were pure- Greek A-
ly Greek; but furthermore, it ap- thors in
pears from *Homer*, that as they Wor- Servius,
ship'd the same Divinities, so he has Æl. 3.

Diodor.

Sir Fra.

left room to conjecture, that they spoke one, and the same Language, otherwise it is hard to conceive how a Poet used to be particular in the minutest circumstances, and that with an exactness, imitated since by no Man. should describe such frequent Conferences without ever employing an Interpreter between 'em. Four-score years after the Destruction of this City, the *Heracrides*, *Hercules's* Descendants returned, and recover'd the Possession of the *Peloponnesus*, from whence *Euristheus*, that implacable Enemy to *Hercules* and all his Race, had Expelled them about an Age before. They had an unquestionable Right to the Kingdoms of *Argos*, and *Mycenæ*. *Amphytrion*, *Hercules's* Father, and Grand son to *Perseus*. King of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, having through inadvertency Slain *Electryon* his Uncle and his Wife *Alcmenas's* Father, was forc'd to fly to *Thebes*: *Sibene-lus* immediately seized upon his Fugitive Nephew's Possessions, and transmitted 'em down to his Son *Euristheus*; who having no Children, appointed his maternal Uncle *Atræus*,
Pelops

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Pelops

* Pelops's Son, and Agamemnon's Fa-
ther for his Heir. By this means the
Crown pass'd into the Family of the
Pelopides, who imposed their own
Name on Peloponnesus, which before
that was called Appia: 'Twice had
the Heraclidæ fruitlessly attempted
to Re-establish themselves before the
Trojan Expedition, but at last For-
tune made 'em amends; they De-
feated the Pelopides, viz. Tisamenes and
Pentibulus, Orestes's Sons, together with
the Neleides, or Descendants from
Nestor, and divided the Kingdoms of
Mycene, Argos, Messenia, and Lacede-
mon among themselves. This so ex-
traordinary a Revolution changed al-
most the whole Face of Greece: Till
then the Inhabitants of Peloponnesus
were divided properly into, Achaians,
and Ionians. The first were possess'd
of those Parts, which the Heraclidæ
conferred on the Dorians, and others
that accompanied 'em in the War. The last Inhabited that part of Pe-
ponnesus called since Achaia. Those
of the Achaians, who were descen-
ded from Etolus, * and were chac'd
out of Lacedæmon, retired at first in-
to Peloponnesus, and Grand-son to Deucalion. Str. l. 8. Pausan. l. 8.

* Pelops
Tantalus
his Son, who
reign'd at
Sipulus, a
City of
Phrygia:
and who
according to
Pindar (O-
lympia)
could not
digest his
mighty For-
tune. ἡγε-
μῶναι με-
γαλῶν
ἐν ἑσθῶ-
ν.
Thucyd.
l. 1. Plat.
in Thes.
Diod. Sic.
l. 4. Strab.
l. 8. Pau-
san. l. 5.
Apollod.
l. 2.
Herod l. 9.
c 26. Diod.
Sic. lib 4,
Strab. l. 9
Pausan. l. 2
& 4 id.
Arcad.
* Son of Hel-

Herod. l. i.
c. 142.

* By the
same He-
raclidæ.
Pausan.
Achaic.

Herod.
l. i.
Pausan.
l. 7.

Plin. in Lyc.
l. Hegon.
Fragm.
Pausan. in
Ilac.
Clem. A-
lex. Strom.
c. i.

to *Thrace* under the Conduct of *Penthius*, after whose death, they went and Establish'd themselves in that part of *Asia Minor* which they call *Æolis*, where they Founded *Smirna*, and eleven other Colonies: As for the *Achaïans* of *Mycene* and *Argos*, seeing themselves constrained to abandon their own * Country, they immediately seized on that of the *Ionians*, who at first fled for Refuge to *Athens*, from whence they retired some years after, under the Command of *Neleus*, and *Androcles*, both the Sons of *Codrus*, to possess themselves of that tract in *Asia Minor*, which from them was called *Ionia*, there they built *Ephesus*, *Clazomene*, *Samos*, and several other Cities, Three hundred and twenty eight years after the return of the *Heraclidæ*. *Iphitus* King of *Elis*, and *Lycurgus* of *Lacedæmon* restored the *Olympick Games*, instituted by *Hercules*, in Honour of *Jupiter*, which till then were of no settled date, but Celebrated only upon some extraordinary Occasions. These two Princes fixt the time of their Celebration for

for every fourth year, to be near the City of *Pisa*, called otherwise *Olympia*: * Hence the Revolution of every four years, at the end of which these Games were exercised, was called an Olympiad. This Interval Instituted, and Confirmed by the Authority of Religion, was thought the readiest, and safest way to calculate their time, tho' it does not appear that their Chronologers were presently acquainted with the use of it. The first that practised it was *Timæus*, under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; till whose time their publick Occurrences were dated from the Reign of the *Athenian* Archons, and Kings of *Sparta*. In *Ptolmy Euergetes*, or the Benefactors days, *Eratosthenes* imitated *Timæus*; tho' *Polybius* was the first of all the Greek Historians, that are now remaining, who made use of this Computation. By the way we must observe, that this vulgar *Æra* of the Olympiads is of a fresher date than *Philus*; it commenced not till the first year of the 28th. Olympiad, at

* Steph. de urb. Strab. l. 8.

Diod. l. 5. Suin. in Tim. Polyb.

Dion. Hal. l. 1. Plin. l. 4. c. 5. Phleg. Trall. ibid. Syncellus. Varro makes the first Olympiad the Boundary between the

Fabulous and Historical Times, Censorin. de die Natal. c. 21. Ann. Mund. 3228. Ant. Christ. 776.

which

which time *Corebus* gained the Prize in the Race. The Spirit of Religion, and Curiosity for publick Shews were not the only motives that influenced the Institution of these Games; Policy had her share in the contrivance. 'Twas thought convenient to Re-assemble from time to time, and Re-unite, if possible, by common Sacrifices, different Commonalties, independent one of the other, and for the most part separated less by the distance of their Habitations, than the diversity of their Interests. Upon the same consideration some other * Games were afterwards Instituted; such as the *Pythian*, Celebrated likewise every fourth year in honour of *Apollo* near the City of *Delphos*, in which the *Amphictyons*, Men chosen out of the prime Cities of all Greece, with power to appoint whatsoever was thought convenient for the publick Peace and Reputation, presided: From these sort of Sports, in which Envy or Malice had no share sprung up a Noble and Generous Emulation, every one contended passionately for the Prize, and the vanquish'd were

† In the 28th Olymp according to Pausan. (Photic.) followed therein by Scaliger, but in the 29th according to Eusebius's Chron. Pausan. ibid. Strab. l. 8.

were the readiest to Crown the Victor, and to congratulate his good fortune. A free People like them, thought with good reason they cou'd not in time of Peace addict themselves to Exercises more Honourable or Useful; for besides that, by this means they made their Limbs strong, active, and supple, they moreover accustomed their Thoughts to the desire of Conquest; 'twas a kind of school or Military Apprenticeship, in which their Courage found a constant employment; nor were they suffered through ease, to let that profession decline, in which lay the security of all the rest; their Minds therefore must be quickned with Good, and Glorious Prospects, when in this Image of War they arrived at a pitch of Glory, approaching in some respects, to that of a Conqueror's. It must therefore be for want of rightly weighing the advantage of such like Exercises, or from an ill Custom of judging all things by the Standard of our own Manners, that we cannot easily comprehend why an Excellence so little
in

in use among us should be attended with extraordinary applause and magnificent Rewards; in which we are the more inexcusable, because the remembrance of our own Jufts and Tournaments, which held a middle place between a Diversion and a Combat, is not so entirely lost as not to paint out to us an Image of the Ancient Games of Greece. Whilst they were thus exercising their Bodies, at the same time were they cultivating their Minds. Poësie had her Heroes too, who took care to give Immortality to the rest, and consecrate their Labours to the Honour of their Country. Nay, not content to transform their Champions into Demi-gods, they attempted in imitation of the *Phenicians*, and *Egyptians*, to lay claim, as I may say, to the Gods themselves, and make Greece, either the place of their Birth, or at least, the Theatre of their most famous Exploits. The Tranquility in which she then lived met with no interruption, but from the long War of the *Lacedemonians* with *Messene*: The *Messenians* at last driven

Homer
was cotemporary,
with Lycurgus,
who was
the first that
publish'd
his Poems.

Cic. Tusc.
l. 5. Strab.

l. 10.
Plut. in
Lycurg.
Clem.

Alex.
Strom. l. 1.

out

at of their Country, Transplanted
 themselves into *Sicily*, and made
 themselves Masters of *Zancle*,
 which from her new Inhabitants
 was called *Messina*. The num-
 ber of the *Grecians* in the mean time
 increased to that degree, that they
 were forced to seek out for new ha-
 bitations in foreign parts: They had
 their Colonies every where; at *Cbal-*
done, *Byzantium*, *Syracuse*, *Marseil-*
les, *Antibes*, *Agde*, *Roses*, but more
 specially in *Italy*, at *Tarentum*, *Brun-*
sum, *Naples*, *Rhegium*, *Crotona*, *Sy-*
aris, and other places in so great
 number, that all the Tract of Land
 that extends from the farthermost
 part of *Calabria* up to *Campania*,
 went by the name of *Magna Græcia*.
 The Genius of this People, accustom-
 ed by their Poets to Truths mixt with
 fables, had not presently the taste of
 Right Reason; the power she at
 length gain'd over 'em was owing
 to Philosophy. Seven Philosophers
 Thales,
 Pittacus,
 Anaxagoras, Solon, Cleobulus, Myso, and Chilon. Plat. in Pro-
 tag. Some reckon Periander among 'em instead of Myso Di-
 g. Layert. in Mys. Every one of 'em, except Thales, com-
 manded in their own Country. Cicero Orat. 1. 3 They conse-
 crated the first Fruits of their Wisdom in the Temple of Apollo

at Delphos; where the Inscription of two of their Sentences was to be seen, viz. Know thy self. And, Too much of one thing is good for nothing. Clem. Alex. Strom.
l. 1.

who were deservedly surnamed the Seven Wise Men, spread their Doctrine through Greece, and sowed a Moral in her that grew fruitful in an instant, and in a small corner of the World produced an extraordinary Plenty, sufficient to furnish the rest of it.

The third Age of the Grecians, very short, but withal very active, contained not above an hundred fifty and eight years, from the Battle of *Marathon* to the death of *Alexander*. Never in so short a space was there seen such a number of Philosophers, Orators, and great Captains flourishing together; never was Age crowded with so many extraordinary Occurrences, immediately succeeding each other. *Darius Hystaspis*, and after him his Son *Xerxes* came pouring into Greece with most formidable Forces; but She unconcern'd at their Numbers, March'd Resolutely out to meet the Enemy. One might then say,

y, Vertue was going to give Laws
 Effeminacy, the Soul to the Body,
 and Reason to Instinct. Her Success
 as answerable to her Resolution.
 he *Persians* were taught at *Marathon*,
Plamine, and *Platea*, how much a
 disciplined Valour is superiour to an
 considerate Fury: One while would
 handfull of *Grecians* Rout Armies,
 at for their Number might be said
 overflow the Earth, and whose
 arts darkened the very Sun; † ano-
 er while wou'd they beat, and dis-
 rse Fleets that covers the Ocean,
 d threatened to bind the Waves and
 inds in Shackles. Nay more, three
 ndred *Lacedemonians*, being anima-
 d by their King's Example, * da-
 d boldly face a certain Death at
 e Streights of *Thermopyle*, sell their
 es at a high rate, and die satisfied,
 ith having left behind 'em the ex-
 ple of an Intrepidity never known
 efore. When *Persia*, so often Van-
 uished by the *Grecians*, despaired of
 abduing them, her last shift was to
 ivide 'em, to which, their Prosperity
 open'd her a means, their Security
 solv'd that Union their Fears had
 form'd

† Leonidis,
 to whom
 this Obser-
 vation was
 made, an-
 swer'd, So
 much the
 better we
 shall then
 fight in
 the shade.
 * *Gravem
 illum &
 Mari, & sc-
 ra Xerxi
 non homini-
 bus tantum
 terribilem
 sed Neptuno
 quoq; com-
 pedes, &
 Cælo tene-
 bras im-
 tantem.*
 Val. Max.
 l. 3. c. 2.

Plat. de
Leg. 3.

formed. Spirits naturally quick, and too Licentious, blown up with their frequent Victories, could not Contain themselves, or Govern their good Fortune; they abandoned themselves to Jealousies, and to Ambition. The strongest were for Governing the whole, and the weak were for no Government at all; insomuch, that while they were endeavouring to shun the Misfortune of Subjection, they fell into that of too much Freedom, or rather, of an unbounded Licentiousness. These Divisions, that ended at last in a general Slavery, were on foot in *Demosthenes's* days. We ought to be acquainted with all the particulars of these Divisions if we would rightly understand *Demosthenes's* Orations, especially his *Philippicks*; and the account of these particulars require an insight into the Customs, Forces, and Interests of the three principal Republicks of Greece; I mean, *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Thebes*. For, as for *Corinth*, tho' to be respected for the number of her Inhabitants, her Commerce, Riches, and above all, for the advantage of her

, and their Situation, which made her Mistress
of the *Ægean*, and *Ionian* Seas, yet
was she never predominant but among
the Republicks of the second Rank.
Not but that she might have risen
higher, had she been seconded by her
Colonies. But the *Corcyreans*, who
were descended from her, and whose
Fleet joyned with hers, might have
made her Empress at Sea, exclusive
of *Athens* her self, took up Arms a-
gainst their Metropolis, which gave
beginning to the *Peloponnesian* War.
In the mean time, *Syracuse*, another
of her Colonies, and who was strong
enough, both by Sea and Land, to be
a Match for *Carthage*, never found her
self in a condition to contribute to
the Glory, or Advancement of her first
Founders. Sometimes assaulted by
Forces from abroad, and sometimes
oppressed by Tyrants at home, she was
so far from sending Succour to the
Corinthians, that she was forc'd more
than once to demand Assistance from
them: They saved her from falling
into the hands of the *Athenians*, and
at last sent her the famous *Timoleon*,
who released her from the Tyranny
of

of *Dionysius* the younger. I began then with *Lacedemon*.

† *Lacedemon*, called originally *Lelia*, from *Lelex* her Founder and first King,
A. M.

2570.
was afterwards called sometimes *Lacedemon*, and sometimes *Sparta*, from *Lacedemon* *Lelex* his Successor, and *Sparta*, *Lacedemon's* Daughter,
Pausan,
l. 3. init.

An. Mun.

3120.

An. Chri.

884.

Plur. in
Lycur.

† *Lacedemon*, famous for her ancient Kings, had acquired a new splendor under the Reign of *Lycur* * a Man born to Govern and instruct others; a good King, and at least as good a Legislator. This Man undertook a Reformation of the State, and began with that of Manners, as the most likely to maintain the order that was to be established. He executed his designs, and afterwards having drawn an Oath from his Subjects that they would observe his Laws till his return, he went into perpetual Banishment. He had before this, in order to make 'em the more authentick, made use of another Artifice, and perswaded the People that they had been dictated to him by *Apollo*. 'Tis not to be imagined how a Pagan, who indeed was too indulgent to Adultery, and Theft, which in some cases he pardoned, should in the rest approach so near to Christian Morality, and sometimes to overtake it. There was no Splendor, no Magnificence in

Sparta

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Sparta. To go differently Cloathed according to the different Seasons of the year, was look'd on there as a criminal Effeminacy: Even the Sex that is most curious in their Apparel, studied there only that of the Mind. They were possess'd of two inexhaustible Treasures; Modesty, and Frugality: At which rate *Sparta* alone abounded as much or more in Wealth than all the rest of *Greece* together. Before *Lysander's* days not only Private Persons, but the State itself made no account of Money. After *Lysander*, who first introduc'd the use of it, the good constitution of the State so provided, that Private Men still preserv'd themselves along time Proof against Avarice, and the Publick only was suffer'd to be rich. Wealth roll'd in thither from all parts, and there was it detain'd for Luxury; and Intemperance forc'd nothing from thence into other parts: Which made *Plato* say very properly, * in allusion to the Fable of the Sick Lyon; One may discern a great many Footsteps of the Money that goes into *Sparta*; but not the least Print of any

Xenoph.
 Rep. Lace-
 dem.

i. Alcib.

any that comes out. Of all the Wealth, nothing was esteem'd more precious than their Time; that was regarded as a thing Sacred: And 'twas esteem'd a piece of Sacrilege to let the least Particle of it slip unemployed: He who without scruple could squander that away, was look'd on as the most dissolute of Prodigals. The Citizens had all their Employments, which took up the Day, and were agreeable to their Ages, and their Capacities. Instead of considering Labour as a base and servile Business they embrac'd it as the Occupation of a Man sincerely free. This love of it interdicted all Plays, even to Children. The Soldier was not suffer'd so much as to walk at his leisure Hours*. The were good Husbands of their very Words. Frequently a single Syllable serv'd for an Answer to the most important Dispatches†: Because no *some* Spar-tan Soldiers garrison'd in a conquer'd Town, were reprov'd for such License, as a thing unworthy Lacedemonians, who owed all their Moments to Vertue.

† Some of their Neighbours having sent 'em a Threatning Message; If we get into your Country, we will put all

fire and Sword ; they return'd Answer, If. *As much as*
we'll take care you shall never come there. To serve
Philip's Proposals they answered only, No. Another
when Philip had writ to 'em a very Haughty Menacing
letter, they only returned him for Answer, Dionysius at Co-
rh: Meaning, Remember thou that Dionysius, heretofore as
a Tyrant as thy self, leads at present a Private Life, and
teaches School at Corinth. Demet. Phaler. de Elec. l. 8.

ing, say they, approached nearer to
 silence so highly recommended to 'em
 Lycurgus, upon this Principle;
 at few Laws wou'd serve those who
 use of but a few Words. This
 concise manner of expressing them-
 selves, detracted nothing from the
 length of their Thoughts, but ra-
 ther gave 'em a greater Energy;
 was an Instructive Brevity: The
 more they left their Hearers to un-
 derstand, the more were they under-
 stood. On the other hand, Tempe-
 rance had banish'd the wantonness
 of the Table: Wine was seldom used
 among 'em; and their usual Food *Heraclid.*
 was Barley-Bread; a Wheaten Loaf *de Polit.*
 being reckoned among their Dainty
 dishes. The Diversions of the Thea-
 tre were not privileged; but on the
 contrary, a prevailing Reason had
 more

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 Hist. l. 2.
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 more

more rigorously prescribed. They suffer'd no Tragedies or comedies to be acted, lest they should accustom their eyes to behold the presentation of what was Condemned by their Law, or their ears to be polluted with the Apology of guilty Passions. This Austerity, to which Nature is so averse, however, by degrees became habitual. This People, what by the force of Education, and influence of Custom, conceived great an aversion to Sloth and voluptuousness as we naturally have. Pain and grief. They did not think it much to Sacrifice their Pleasures to the Liberty of the Mind, which they enjoyed in a frugal, laborious Life; so frugal, and so laborious as *Ma* *Alcibiades* say, I do not wonder to see 'em so readily expose and precipitate them themselves into Danger that seem not so much to Rob them of Life, as to make them a Present Death. They were all born with a love for Order and Discipline. The Law Ruled with an equal Authority over the Rich and the Poor, over the Magistrate and the Private Person.

Ælian.
Var. Hist.
lib. 14.
c. 35,

Person: Their Kings valued themselves upon their Subjection to it, and distinguished themselves only in an exacter Obedience. Agesilaus astonish'd the Persians with his Modesty in a Conference, as much as he had terrified them before with his Valour in the Field. This King, truly Master of himself, rejected the most alluring offers of Fortune, and deaf to the applause of Nations he had set at liberty, insensible to the tears they shed to retain him in the midst of his Conquests, with which he had already made the Grand Monarch to Tremble, stopt in his full Career, and returned home directly, and all this out of a Deference to the Ephori, * who had recalled him. So charming was Moderation in his Eyes, and appeared to him more glorious than his Conquests: Or to make use of his own Thoughts; So well was he perswaded a King was as much obliged to obey the Laws, as to command the People. Princes nourish'd like these in Maxims so just, so pure, and as it were, hereditary,

Some body asking Demaratus, What made him fly from Sparta; the Capital of his Realm, he answer'd, Because the Laws are more absolute there than the King. Polyb. l. 3. c. 6. † Corn. Nep. & Plut. in Agesilao.

** Magistrates of Lacedaemon.*

tary, made use of their Power with so much gentleness, that it scarce was felt: They governed like Fathers rather than Masters. † *Lycurgus* knew

† *Lycurgus* made answer to a man who was highly commending Democracy, Go set it up first in your own House. Intimating to him, That then there must be as many Masters in his Family as there were Servants.

* *Herod.* very well, that a right understanding between the People and the Sovereign, is the surest foundation of their reciprocal Felicity; for the maintaining of which understanding, he establish'd the *Ephori*, or Inquisitors; * whose Duty it was to enquire into the Conduct of the Kings, as well as that of the People; and to hold the Ballance so equal between 'em both, as that the Royal Authority should never degenerate into Fierceness and Tyranny; nor Popular Liberty start out into Licentiousness and Rebellion. This Medium betwixt an excessive Subjection, and an excessive Freedom, preserved *Sparta* from those Domestick Dissensions

Herod. I. 1. c. 65. On the other side Plu. (in *Lycurgus*) pretends, that *Theopompus* in order to curb the Citizens, who began to grow too imperious, instituted the *Ephori*, about 130 Years after *Lycurgus*; and when his Wife reproach'd him for leaving to his Children the Royal Authority more infirm than he receiv'd it; I shall leave it, said he, more lasting, and by consequence, more solid.

tions

tions that harras'd her Neighbours. The Ephori in all pressing Conjunctions brought the People to agree to what had been before resolv'd upon. These Resolutions so unanimously concert'd, were executed in due time, and every one concurred in the execution as cheerfully as if he himself had been the Proposer of 'em. The Government therefore of Lacedemon was not purely Monarchical; the Grandees had a considerable share in it; nor were the People excluded from it. All these Members of the Body Politick, according as they conspired to the general good, found their own in it: So that in spite of that restlessness and inconstancy of Mankind, which is daily gaping after change, never to be cur'd of its distaste to uniformity, Lacedemon preserved her self in an entire conformity to her own Laws, for the space of more than 700 Years. Beside this, Merit appear'd in every Sex, and every Age. Youth had no need to wait for the Lessons of Experience, which were supply'd by Institution, and Example; whereby Wo-

men became capable of the most E
 levated Vertues. The love of their
 Country silenc'd all Maternal Soft-
 ness, and made the Mother, when
 acquainted with the death of her Son,
 slain in the Service of the Publick,
 repair and visit the Corps upon the
 place of Battle, and regulate her
 Grief according as the Wounds, with
 which she saw him covered, were
 shameful, or honourable. This Great-
 ness of Mind so universally pro-
 fess'd throughout *Lacedemon*, made
 'em very considerable. The reputa-
 tion of so extraordinary a Merit pre-
 vail'd with the Kings of **Egypt* and
Phenicia, struck with esteem and ad-
 miration for 'em, to become in some
 respect Homagers to 'em, and to tes-
 tifie their Submission in most Solemn
 Embassies. The *Grecians* themselves
 were more nearly touch'd with it,
 and possess'd with a just Reverence
 for 'em. By this means *Sparta* † for a
 long time exercis'd that Empire over
 'em, which Vertue had given 'em.
 Every one was perswaded that to at-
 tend her was to follow Justice, and
 Reason, to pursue their own Interest,
 Honour

* Herod.
 l. 1 & 3.

† *Id.* l. 4.

Honour, and Reputation. Tyranny met in *Lacedemon* with most Terrible and Implacable Enemies; Liberty, Faithful and Indefatigable Protectors. This Zeal was not pent up within the Confines of *Greece*. The *Asiatick* *Greeks* seeing themselves upon the point of being swallow'd up by *Cyrus*, turn'd their Eyes to *Sparta*, and conjured her not to suffer any *Grecians* to become a prey to *Barbarians*. *Sparta* gave their Ambassadors a favourable reception. These resolute Republicans had the courage to declare by an Herald at Arms to this Conqueror, who came to subdue *Asia*,* That they would never suffer him to touch any of the *Grecian* Colonies: That nothing that bore the name of *Greek* was born for Servitude; and that if his Design was to subdue them, they could readily pass the Seas to vindicate their Liberty. Thus was *Sparta* whilst she commanded only by her Vertues, reverenc'd as the Mother of the Nations; Protectrice of the Common Cause, and Supreme Judge of all Differences. She neither receiv'd nor exacted any

* *Id*, l. 1.

Arist. pol.

8. c. 4.

1 lat. de

Rep. l. 8.

de leg.

l. 1.

Arist. pol.

l. 7. c. 14.

Xenoph'

de Rep.

Lac,

*The Athe-
nians by
Nature more
soft and de-
licate, were
too much in-
love with
an Effemi-
nate Life.
Diogenes
returning
from Spar-
ta to A-
thens, said, He was come out of the Apartment
Men into that of Women. So that in Greece they
had their separate Apartments.

other Tribute than that of Esteem, of Love, Trust, and Admiration. Her Constitution however was not without its Faults. Her Government favour'd of the Humour of her Inhabitants, who extended the same harsh Severity to their Allies, which they us'd towards one another. Besides that, there was no Peace nor Truce observ'd in a Commonwealth devoted to Arms, and whose Constitution required continual Wars for the preservation of it. This, by degrees, made her Government distasteful, and favour'd the Ambition of the Athenians, her Rivals: * Who though a more Ancient State, had for many Years either through the Weakness of their Forces, or rather the Disorders of their Divisions, lived without any thoughts of Command, but who now were not content to draw their own Necks out of the Collar, but did as much for the rest of Greece.

(a) Athens, from her Birth was Governed by Kings, but who then Cecropia, from Cecrops, her first King; after that the Wall, call'd Athens, Amphictyon; her first King having consecrated her to Minerva, call'd in Greek, Athens.

(a) This City was first call'd Thucid. Plut. in Thef.

* Their Power for the most part, restrained to the Command of her Armies, vanish'd into nothing in times of Peace. Every one lived Master of his own Family, in an absolute independance. Originally, and that till Theseus's days, the Burroughs of Attica had each their Magistrate, who, with the chief of the place regulated all Differences and Disputes, without any Appeal to their Kings; whose number, according to common Computation, was seventeen; ten from Cecrops, down to Theseus, and seven from Theseus to Codrus. This last, in the War with the Heraclidæ Sacrificed himself for the good of his Subjects: For the Oracle having answer'd, that the Army which lost its General should remain

(b) 4

Vict-

Victorious, he sought Death with as much care and eagerness, as the most Cowardly flye from it. * His two Sons, Medon, and Nileus disputed the Succession.

* Pauf. I. 7. Hereupon the Athenians took an occasion to abolish the Royalty, tho' they had been no ways incommoded by it, and declared they would have

* Aristoph. no King but * Jupiter; at which time the Jews, grown weary of the Tyranny, that is, the benefit of having the only true God for their King, submitted themselves to the Command of a Man. Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he Mustered up their Ships, called those of the Athenians only by the name of People, which prove not as that Historian pretends, that Theseus had devested himself of the Sovereignty, but that the Athenians had even then an inclination to Democracy, and that the Principal Authority was already placed in the hands of the People. In the room of their Kings they constituted perpetual Governors, called by them

(a) Ar-

(a) *Archontes.* Medon, Codrus's Son, was the first who executed this Charge, which was continued to his descendants for many years after. This Office for Life, appeared to the Athenians too near a resemblance of the Roalty, the very shadow of which they were resolved to destroy. Wherefore, from a Perpetual, they reduced it at first to a Decennial, and after that to an Annual Administration, that they might more frequently recall the Authority, they had never without regret conferred upon the Magistrate. A Power so limited as this was, found it self too weak to Bridle such Captious, Unsettled Tempers; Quarrels and Factions sprung up every day, they could come to no agreement, either as to Religion or the Administration: Every thing Alarm'd the Ignorant, and Arm'd the Furious. By this means Athens continued a long time at a stand, happy in this only, that

(a) *There were thirteen of these perpetual Archons in 316 Year from Medon to Alcmeon Vell. Paterc. l. i. Euseb. Chron. of these were ten, the first was called Charops, the Last, Eryx. Dion. Hal. l. i. ἀρχαιολογίας Creon, the first of these Annual Magistrates, was Elected the second, or third Year of the 24th Olymp. Dionys. Hallicar. Antiq. Rom. l. i. Euseb. Chron. & Pausan. cannot agree upon this point. Poll. l. 8. Harpoc. Sigon. l. 4. de Rep. Athen. Cicer. l. i. de finibus, render the word Archon by that of Prætor, Plin. l. 33. c. 7. Translates it Magistratus.*

(a) 5

the

*39 Olymp.
Clem. A.
lex. Strom
l. 1.
Euseb.
Chro. Suid
(2) Aul.
Gell. L. 11.
c. 18.
(3) Joseph.
Cont. Ap.
Suid.

†When Dra-
co was as-
ked why he
punished a
slight fault
with death,
which was
the greatest
punishment
could be in-
flicted on
the highest
Crimes, He made answer, Because those Faults appear'd to
him worth of Death, and for the expiation of the high-
est Crimes he could invent no greater Punishment. *Plut.*
ibid.

she stood notwithstanding those long
and frequent Diffensions with which
she was shaken. *At length her Ca-
lamities made her wise; She found
by degrees, that true Liberty consists
in a dependance on Justice, and Rea-
son, and that this Dependance or
Subjection was not to be establish'd
but by the Authority of a Legislator.
To this purpose, she pitch'd upon
Draco, a Man of approved Vertues,
and Abilities. (2) It doth not ap-
pear that Greece had any written
Laws before (3) his time. His were
Publish'd, by whose extreme Rigour
(therein preparing the way for the
Doctrine of the Stoicks) the slightest
faults met with a capital Punishment
equal to the most enormous Trans-
gressions. These Laws of Draco,
written not with Ink, but Blood, ac-
cording to Damades, met with the
Fate of all violent things; for in a
short time the disuse of 'em caus'd
their Abrogation. The fear of re-
 Crimes, He made answer, Because those Faults appear'd to
him worth of Death, and for the expiation of the high-
est Crimes he could invent no greater Punishment. *Plut.*

lapsing

lapping into their first Disorders made 'em have recourse to fresh precautions ; they were willing to slacken, but not absolutely quit the Reins. In order therefore to find out such mediums as were able to recompence the Law for what ever they took from it, they cast their eyes on one of the most Vertuous, and Wilest Men of his Age, I mean *Solon*, whose extraordinary Qualities, especially his great Meekness had acquired him an universal Love, and Veneration. He was Authorised by a General Voice, to Regulate as he thought fit, their Assemblies, Assessments, Decrees, Tribunals, and whatever else appeared to him the most proper, and convenient, for the better Modelling of the State. *Solon's* Profound Judgment had quickly found a cure for this Complication of Distempers, if the weakness of those he had to do withal would have permitted him to make use of suitable Remedies. When one ask'd him if he had prescribed good Laws to the *Athenians* ; *Yes*, said he, *as good as they are capable of receiving*. Equality is the Soul

of all Publick Bodies: He was afraid to propose that of Riches, (by which means *Attica*, as well as *Laconia*, would have resembled a publick Inheritance divided among several Brethren,) for fear of disobliging the welthier sort: however, he delivered almost all his Citizens out of Bondage, who through their excessive Debts and accumulated Arrears, were forced to sell themselves to the highest Bidder. By an express Law he releas'd all the Debtors, and at the same time, to make some amends to the Rich, he assigned to 'em, exclusive of the People, all Publick Offices, Honours, and Employments; though at the same time he took care to allay their Power; and that he might keep the People in good heart, he continued to them the right of Decision; this Method referr'd indeed to the Council of 400, the care of inquiring into, and proposing what was thought of use to the common Interest; but then their Consultations were to be Ratify'd by the People's Voice, who did not always go on the rightest side; for this

* Of which
there were
100: in every
Court.
Arist. Pol.
l. 2. c. ult.
Pol. l. 8. c. 9
Plut. *ibid.*

is reason, *Anacharsis*, drawn from the extremity of *Scythia*, by the Representation of the Grecian Sages, said to *Polon* one day, I admire to see your Wise Men assigned to the deliberation on our Publick Affairs, whilst the Honour of the Decision is reserved for Fools. As for the Court of the *Areopagus*, erected in *Cecrops's* days, and of a Reputation for Integrity, of which both *Gods* and *Men*, *Mars* and *Neptune*, *Orestes*, and *Cephalus* are famous proofs; though this August Tribunal, *Euseb. Chron. De-mothenes in his Orat. Con. Aristocrat.* as he had no clear insight into the Original of the *Areopagus*, and saith, The Erectors of this Tribunal, whether *Gods* or *Heroes*. They are as little agreed upon the Etymology of the name; some pretend that the *Areopagus*, is to say, *Mars's Hill*, was so called, because the Court was situate upon the top of that Hill, and that there they Condemned *Mars* himself for an Adulterer. The Author of the *Etymologies*, because the *Amazons*, *Mars's Daughters* Encamp'd there. *Schilus*, (*Eumenides* v. 690.) Because the *Amazons* Piled upon that Hill, Sacrificed a great number of Victims to *Mars*. This Poet seems to be ignorant of, or, not to credit what *Justinus* l. i. *Libanius* (*Orat.* 22. & 23) *Servius* (in *Virg. Georg.* l. i. v. 18.) relate of the process of *Mars*, and *Neptune*; he reckons that the first Decree of the *Areopagus*, was pronounced against *Orestes*, after the Trojan War. But *Apollodorus* goes up higher (l. 3.) and is of Opinion that that illustrious Senate Condemned *Cephalus* to a perpetual Banishment, for that he had unfortunately kill'd his Wife with an arrow.

composed

composed of Nine of the *Archons* discharged from that Office, had more extensive Jurisdiction than heretofore, and took Cognisance of more Matters than what were merely Criminal, yet their Duty properly was to Examine into, and Prepare the matters of State. *Solon*, who knew better than any other, the Inconveniencies that attended a Democracy, cautiously withheld himself from removing 'em: After having diligently examined into the Genius of his Citizens, he concluded it in vain to attempt the depriving the Multitude of the Sovereignty, who if they quitted their hold for a moment, would instantly re-take it by main force. This ingenious Lawgiver did moreover Restore the love of Labour, and Husbandry, made way for Commerce, put the *Athenians* into a condition of enriching themselves, and found out a means insensibly to tame, with the Rules of Justice, Order, and Discipline, a People bred up in Liberty, and persuaded that Force and Violence were the only Preservatives against Oppression.

reffion. Athens thus Reformed, was
 now in a fair way of growing great,
 and Illustrious, had not a Tyrant in-
 terposed, and reapt all the fruit of
 the Reformers Travels. *Pisistratus*,
 in spite of the horrible aversion the
 Athenians had conceived for the Roy-
 alty, and the Traverses of two Pu-
 tant Factions; * in spite of the bit-
 ter Remonstrances, and repeated Ef-
 forts of *Solon* to prevent it, who, tho'
 Relation of the Usurpers, † omit-
 ed nothing in the Infirmities of old
 Age, that could help to preserve the
 Liberty of his Country, prevailed so
 far at last, as to be declared King:
 However, he was twice Dethroned,
 Government that should be a Medium to the other two. By
 the First, and Third, *Pisistratus* found himself violently op-
 posed, for which reason, he placed himself at the head of the
 second, Herod. l. i. c. 59. † On his Mother's
 side (Plut. in *Solon*) when *Pisistratus* sent to know of
Solon, What made him thwart him at that rate? My
 Age, reply'd *Solon*, having now nothing more to fear.
 When the Tyrant had prevailed, *Solon* retired, saying; I
 retire at least with the satisfaction of having been wise
 enough to foresee this Tempest; and coraginus enough
 to foretel it. *Pisistratus* began his Reign the Fourth Year of
 the 54th Olympiad. Marm. Arond.

* There
 were at
 that time
 three Facki-
 ons in A-
 thens, the
 Pedians
 favoured
 Oligarchy,
 the Diacri-
 ans, or Hy-
 peracrians
 Democra-
 cy, whilst
 the Paral-
 ians, averse
 to Demo-
 cracy and
 Oligarchy
 stood up for
 a Form of

flored.

* Arist.
Pol. l. 5.
c. 12.

† Incertum
est Phala-
rimne, an
Pisistratum
sit imitatu-
rus. Epist.
ad Att. l. 7

and soon got himself to be Re-
stored. * He gained the Crown by
by his Artifices, and maintained it
by his Moderation. He distinguished
himself by an exact submission to the
Laws ; and the Gentleness of his
Reign, was such as might put
that of Lawful Sovereigns to the
blush. Upon this account has been
been worthily opposed to other Ty-
rants. † Cicero uncertain how Cæsar
would make use of his Good Fortune
after the Battle at Pharsalia, writ thus
to his Beloved Atticus : *We are as yet*
uncertain whether the Fate of Rome
will have it, that we groan under
Phalaris, or enjoy our selves under
Pysistratus. This last bequeath'd the
Sovereignty he had usurp'd to his
Children, which they peaceably en-
joy'd for a long time. One may say
They had the Art of suppressing that
innate and earnest desire the Atheni-
ans had for Liberty : However, rou-
sed at last by the Importunities and
Succours they receiv'd from Sparta,
they threw off the Yoke, and resolv-
ed to suffer the last Extremities, rather

ther

er than open their Gates to the Ty-
 ant *Hippias* *, who was returning • *Hippias*
 supported with all the Forces of the *chus*, and
 ing of *Persia*, * much about the *Hippias*.
 ne the *Tarquin's* banish'd *Rome*, en- * *Darius*
 favoured to be restored by the *Nothus*.
 eans of *Porfena*, King of *Hetturia*.
 he *Athenians* were no way mov'd
 the *Persian* or his Menaces: At
 ft they had recourse to Treaties;
 t finding them ineffectual, they ad-
 ntur'd to pass over into *Asia*, and
 d upon that Monarch's Frontiers. * *They burnt*
 e quickly brought the War home *Sardis, Ca-*
 their own Doors by *Datis* his Ge- *pital of*
 ral. They instead of waiting for *Lydia*.
 e Enemy within their Walls, went
 t to meet him at *Marathon*, where
 ey gain'd a Victory † over him that
 d more of truth in it than probabi-
 y. This unexpected success redou-
 ed their Vigour. In the mean
 † *The Persi-*
 ans had in
 the Field
 100000
 , and 10000 Horse. *The Athenians in all no more than*
 000 men, commanded by *Miltiades*. *Hippias* fell in the
 le; and his Sons, who fled for refuge to *Xerxes* his Court,
 m they persuaded to revenge his Father's Disgrace, met
 h no better Fortune.

time,

time, they ventur'd not as yet to contend with *Sparta* for the Superiority. For though at the Battle of *Salamine*, ten Years after that at *Marathon*, the Ships equip'd by the *Athenians*, and built out of the Ruins of their Houses, composed the greatest part of the *Grecian Fleet*, under the conduct of *Themistocles*; and on the contrary the *Lacedemonians* had fitted out but a small number of Ships; yet the command of the Fleet was conferr'd upon them. Nay, some time after this, at the Battle of *Platea*, where the *Persians* were disheartned too much to engage with the *Grecians* ever after, 'tis well known *Aristides* at the head of the *Athenian Troops*, received his Orders from *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*. That day so glorious to *Greece*, became fatal to her; for it dissolv'd that Subordination *Athens* bore to *Sparta*, and rais'd Eternal Jealousies between the two States. *Athens* fir'd with the success of these Battels, the chief honour of which she took to her self, stood up on Equality with *Lacedamon*, and carry'd her Pretensions a great deal higher

higher. She affected a Precedency; drew over to her side the greatest part of the Allies; debated, and decided whatever concern'd the General Welfare; assum'd to herself the Prerogative of Rewards and Punishments; or rather set up for the Sovereign Umpire of Greece.

Sparta was willing to resign to them the Command of the Sea, but they would be absolute in all. They thought, since they had delivered Greece from the Oppression of the Barbarians, they had a right to Oppress her in their turn. They roughly treated the Grecian Cities; of which they called themselves the Protectors. If a Neighbour offend- ed them never so little, he soon felt all the weight of their Anger; whence grew that Proverb recited by Aristotle, an Athenian Neighbourhood. They rendred themselves Odi- ous, not only to their Neighbours, but Part of Thrace, and the Isles of the Egean Sea, subject to their Laws, bore impatiently that Yoke, which grew every day more insupportable. Thus did

Arist.
Rhet. l. 2.
c. 21.

† The Second year
of the 75
Olympiad

did *Athens* manage her self for near fifty years after the Battel of *Platæa*.
 † All this while *Sparta* made but weak Attempts, and faintly endeavoured to humble, or repress her Rival; but at last moved by the repeated complaints of several of the Cities against the Oppression of the *Athenians*, She began that famous *Peloponnesian War*. *Sparta* on one side supported by such Allies, as Justice, and the love of Liberty had brought to her Party: *Athens* on the other side, followed by those whom Fear detained in her Alliance, try'd their Fortunes for the space of twenty seven years, with a Bravery that might have been more profitably employed elsewhere. Victory seem'd irresolute in the course of this long, and Bloody War, and to hover between both Parties. The *Athenians* always Masters at Sea, repaid themselves there what they lost by Land: Every thing seemed to promise them an happy conclusion. The Islands of the *Egean Sea* regularly paid the Taxes they had charg'd 'em with; and they might have secured themselves an advantagious Peace;

peace, if in the 21st. Year of the
 War, when they had so many Ene-
 mies upon their hands, they had not
 very unseasonably undertaken the
 Siege of † *Syracuse*, and that with so
 much heat, that *Æsion* Reproach'd † *Arist.*
 them, for having poured all *Athens* c. 10.
 to *Sicily*. This Expedition drain'd
 them of Men and Money: The
 event of which punished the Rash-
 ness of the Undertaking. Their
 whole Army was lost, and their Fleet
 either Taken, or Burnt, and the two
 Generals *, together with the Flower * *Nicias &*
 of the *Athenian* Youth, (whose loss, *Demost.*
 regard of the State, *Pericles* com- *Arist. Ibid.*
 pared to what the year would suffer,
 deprived of the Spring) were left
 to the Mercy of those very People
 they had undertaken to Subdue. The
 news of this Disgrace was scarce
 known in *Greece* before *Athens* saw
 herself almost totally abandon'd.
 Her Allies, who serv'd her with an ill
 will, immediately joyned with the
acedemonians: *Athens* in the mean
 time, notwithstanding this terrible
 shock and general Desertion, which
 beateh'd her with an approaching,
 and

and her almost inevitable Ruin, still he
up her head; till the *Lacedemonians*
supported by their Alliance with the
Persians, who opened his Treasures
and re-inforc'd em with a numerous
Fleet; prevail'd so far at last, that
after having Taken 180 of the
Vessels, and Besieged em in the
City, they were forc'd to Surrender
at Discretion. Now Masters of the
Fate of *Athens*, they Summon'd the
Allies to Consult with em, and
termine what was to be done. The
greatest part (so far had she lost the
Hearts, and incens'd them against her)
were for her utter destruction.
The *Thebans* strangely support
this Opinion: But the *Lacedemonians*
more temperate than the rest, pre-
sently concluded, they could not
with any safety ruin one of the pri-
ncipal Bulwarks of Greece; nor, with-
out Ingratitude, exterminate a peo-
ple, to whom they ow'd their Safety
and Glory. They thought it enough
to oblige the *Athenians* to demolish
their Walls; to raze the Fortifica-
tions made by *Themistocles* at the
famous Port of *Pireus*; Never to admit
above Twelve Vessels, and to yield

* Xenoph.
de gest.
Græc. l. 1.

Precedency to the *Lacedemonians* by Sea and Land. Upon these terms a Peace was granted 'em. Thus fell the *Athenian Empire**, which began sometime after the death of the *Persians*, and continued Years. Greece by this did but change her Masters: *Sparta* resum'd her Superiority, though her new reign exceeded not thirty Years. Had she held longer, if the *Lacedemonians*, according to their old Principles, could have been contented to offer every Commonalty to have lived under the Government of their own Laws. But too fond of their own sort of Government, they were resolv'd to abolish *Democracy* *every where, and to institute a Government of Ten, who should have the sole management of Affairs; and to appoint such as they knew firm to their Interest, and most averse to a Popular Government. By this means *Sparta* became more absolute, and at the same time more odious. They who were forc'd to submit, murmur'd; and they who were not, grew jealous of her. Nothing hasten'd her Fall

* *Isoc. in Paneg. & Pantheon. Demosth. 3. Phil.*

† *Isoc. ibid. Demosth. ibid.*

* *Arist. de Repub. l. 5. c. 7. Isoc. in his Oration to Philip.*

* First Year
of the 96th
Olymp.
Corn.
Nep. in
Agefil.
Artaxerxes
Mnemon.

Fall more than Prosperity, which made her too much presume upon her own Strength. She thought herself able to keep *Greece* in subjection and destroy the *Persian* Empire at the same time; or at least, to confine it to narrower Bounds. *Agefilans*, who commanded the Expedition, passed into *Asia*; and his first Exploit * gave him hopes of entire success: when the *Persian* King, whose numerous Armies could not put a stop to this Conqueror, found the Secret, to send him back by more certain means. He brib'd *Greece* with Treasures, and by that means raised Enemies against *Sparta*. For the *Grecians* readily hearken'd to his Proposition, and were glad to sell, at a high rate, a Revolt, with which the love of Liberty had already inspir'd 'em: All with a general consent join'd in an Insurrection against the *Lacedemonians*; who were so far from being able to defend themselves with the Forces they had at home, that they were oblig'd immediately to recal the King and his Arms. The *Athenians* at the head of the Malcontents, resolv'd to hazard all for

the Liberty of Greece; and without reflecting on the miserable condition they were lately in, presum'd to affront that Powerful State that had reduc'd 'em to it. *Demosthenes* extols that Fortunate Magnanimity more than once; and infers from it; That *Philip* could not stand against 'em whenever they should attack him with the same Resolution. The *Athenians* knew so well how to manage the present Conjuncture, and to make a right use of the oversight the *Spartans* had committed in provoking the great King*; that joining their Fleet to the *Persian*, they defeated the *Lacedemonians*; rebuilt their Walls and Fortifications, and saw themselves in a condition of disputing the command of the Sea with *Sparta*. So that as *Sparta* had by the assistance of the *Persian**, formerly subdued *Athens*, now *Athens* in her turn deliver'd her self from the Obsequence of *Sparta* by the assistance like-

* The King of Persia was called Emphatically the King, or the Great King. Xenoph. l. 5. rer. Hell.

* Darius thus sent his Naval Forces to *Lyfander*. *Diod. l. 11.* *orn. Nep. in Lyfand. & Conon. the 4th Year of 334 Olymp.*

(c)

wife

(a) Artaxerxes M-
nemon
made Co-
non his
Admiral,
the 3d Year
of the 96th
Olymp.
Corn. Nep.
in Con.
Answer to
Philip's
Letter.

wise of the *Persian*. (a) This remarkable Instance is cited by *Demosthenes*, whilst he was persuading the *Athenians* to conclude an Alliance instantly with the *Persian King*: Greece (says he) is not now to learn of what consequence the assistance of such a Monarch will be. We all know, that in the Wars between Athens and Sparta, that Republick infallibly prevail'd that knew how to make the King of Persia her Friend. The *Athenians* thought not fit to reap all the benefit of the Victory themselves, and therefore laid not down their Arms, till by a Solemn Treaty the *Lacedemonians* were oblig'd to restore the *Grecian Cities* to their Liberty. For though the *Lacedemonians* pretended in this Affair a Voluntary Generosity, yet it appear'd by the Consequence, that Fear only oblig'd 'em to it; taking an opportunity some time after to oppress *Thebes*, though expressly comprehended in the Treaty. This Infraction rekindled the Zeal of the *Athenians*. They animated the rest of Greece to unite with them against Sparta, fell upon

The P R E F A C E.

51

upon her afresh; beat her several times by Sea and Land, at Corinth, Naxos, Corcyra, and Leucade. And notwithstanding they had no greater Interest in this War than the rest, yet were they at almost all the charges of it. This is what Demosthenes would observe, when he says; I wonder People, who heretofore were so liberal of their Blood and their Treasure for the sake of others, should be at present sparing of both for their own. The Expence and Labour the Athenians were at for the Liberty of Greece had the desired Effect. Sparta was oblig'd to renew the Treaty concluded some Years before, and all the Grecian Cities restor'd to an entire independency. One would think Greece now likely to enjoy a Profound Tranquility; but to her great Misfortunes, the Equality of the Two Powers, who had till then so much disturb'd her, had scarcely finish'd the Peace, when Thebes started up, and pretended to the Command of all.

Xenoph.
l. 6. rer.

Hell.
Xenoph.
ibid.

First O-
lynth.

Xenoph.
ibid.

(c) 2

Thebes,

† *A City*
in Beotia so
called from
Thebe,
Daughter
to Prometh-
heus.
Pausan. in
Beot.
Steph. de
Urb.

* *A Beo-*
tian Head-
piece was a
Proverb a-
mong 'em
Pindar and
Plutarch
both Beo-
tians, but
an excepti-
on to the
Proverb

confess the stupidity of their Countrymen Horace in his
Art of Poetry, advises the Poet to take care he does not make
an Argive speak like a Theban. The Subtil Air of *Asben*
said Cicero, de fato, produces subtil Wit, whilst the gross
Air of Thebes forms gross headpieces.

Thebes, † famous for her Great-
 ness and Antiquity, was yet more
 illustrious by the Misfortunes and
 Adventures of her *Heroes*. The Tra-
 gical End of *Cadmus* her Founder,
 and of *Oedipus* one of her Kings,
 who transmitted their Ill Fortune
 down to their Posterity; the Birth
 of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*; and a Siege
 maintain'd before that of *Troy*; to-
 gether with several other Events, Hi-
 storical or Fabulous, rank'd her
 among the most remarkable Cities.
 Notwithstanding which, the *Thebans*,
 out of stupidity, * rather than Mo-
 deration, never aimed at the Pree-
 minence; but they had the baseness
 to betray Greece, and join with the
 King of Persia. An Action, for
 which they were the more decryed,
 because not justified in the Success;
 and that, contrary to their Expecta-
 tions, founded upon all the Rules of
 Probability, the Army of the *Barba-*

rians

rians met with a Defeat. This accident threw 'em into a great Confusion. They were affraid, lest the Athenians their Neighbours, whose Power encreased every day, under a pretence of Punishing so base a Treachery, would attempt their Subjection. To prevent which, they resolved to enter into an Alliance with Sparta, whom they had no need so much to fear, if it was only that they were farther off from 'em. Sparta, on this occasion wav'd her usual severity: She chose rather to forgive the Associates of the Barbarians, than suffer the Enemies of Athens to Perish. The Thebans by way of acknowledgment, struck firm to the Interest of their Protectors; for, during the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans had no better, nor more hearty Allies. Thebes, however, could not forbear shifting sides, as occasion required. The Spartans, always adverse to Popular Faction, would needs undertake to change the Form of the Theban Government, * and after having surpriz'd the Cittadel,

Xerxes
Herod. 1. 7.
8. 9.
Xenoph.
Hist. Greek
1. 7.

* The third
Year of the
99th. O.
lympiad.

† Built by
Cadmus,
Command-
ed by Phæ-
bidas, Di-
odor. l. 15.
Arist. Orat
Leuct. 18.
C. 2.
Isoc. in Pa-
negyr. Po-
lyb. l. 4.

† and remov'd, or dispers'd all who were able to resist 'em, they plac'd the Authority in the hands of the Principal Citizens, who, for the most part acted by their directions. *Pelopidas*, at the Head of the Exiles, and some Succours he had receiv'd from *Athens*, entred secretly into the City by night about four years after, cut off the Tyrants, drove out the *Spartan* Garison, and restor'd his Country to her Liberty. Till then, *Thebes* joyned sometimes with *Sparta*, and another while with *Athens*, held her place only in the second Rank, without ever being suspected of rising one day up to the first.

But the *Th. bans* being naturally a Hardy, Robust People, and grown withal very Experienc'd since the *Peloponnesian* War, from which time their Arms had been seldom, or never out of their hands, and full of Ambition, which encreas'd in proportion to their Forces, and their Courage, began to think themselves too much penn'd up in their Ancient Limits. They refused to sign the Peace Negotiated, as we observed before

before, by the *Athenians*, unless they were acknowledged Chief of *Bœotia*. This Refusal did not only expose 'em to the Indignation of the *Persian King*, who, that he might with more security follow his Wars with *Egypt*, which had Revolted from him, Ordered the *Grecians* to lay down their Arms, but rais'd *Athens*, *Sparta*, and indeed, all *Greece*, who now desired nothing so much as Peace; these Considerations could no way restrain 'em. They Broke with *Athens*, Attack'd *Platea*, * a Place the *Athenians* had long before taken into their Protection, and Rased it. The *Lacedæmonians* imagin'd that the *Thebans* being forsaken by their Allies, were not in a condition to make head against 'em. They March'd therefore as to a certain Victory, penetrated with their Army a great way into the Enemy's Country, whilst the rest of *Greece* look'd on *Thebes* as certainly lost, little thinking, that in one Man she had more than an Army: This

* After the Battel of Marathon where the Plateans, Posted by Miltiades in the left Wing, Signalized their Zeal, and their Courage, the Athenians never Celebrated any

Festival wherein the Herald did not Offer an united Vow for the Prosperity of *Athens*, and *Platea*. Herod. l. 6.

* Corn.
Nep. in
Epam. I
take *Epaminondas*. to
be the top
Man of
all Greece
said Tully,
Tuscul. l. 1
Epami-
nondas,
Princeps
meo judi-
cio Gracia.

† *Lyfides*
of Tarent-
um, Py-
thagoras,
Died. l. 15.
Or 16 Paus.
in Bæot.
Æt. l. 3.
Var. Hist.
c. 17. Dion.
Cbrysoft.
Orat, In-
script. re-
cusatio
Magistra-

rus. Laert. in Pythag. Corn Nep. in Epam. Cicero in lib. 3.
de Orat. & 1. Off. Calls him Lyfias, but this must be a vi-
sible Error of the Transcriber. Clem. l. 1. Pedag. c. 3. Makes
Philip have another Master, called Naufithous.

Man was *Epaminondas*. * There was
no better School in the Universe
than his Father *Polymnus's* House,
open to all the Learned World. From
this School sprung *Philip of Macedon*;
who, during the nine years he Resi-
ded as an Hostage in *Thebes*, had the
good Fortune to be brought up by
Epaminondas his Master, † or rather,
to Study *Epaminondas* himself, who
knew so well to reduce Precepts into
Practice. The Talents of this latter
either in Politicks or the Art of War,
together with several others which
he possess'd in a very eminent degree,
were notwithstanding inferiour to his
Vertues. A Philosopher in Reality,
and Poor upon Choice; he despis'd
Riches without any design of being
applauded for it, and cultivated Ver-
tue without any regard to her sweet-
est Fruit, I mean Reputation: Co-
vetous of his time, which he dili-
gently devoted to the search after

Truth,

Truth, he avoided all publick Employments, and never appear'd, but in order to get excluded from 'em. His Moderation hid him so effectually, that he liv'd obscure, and almost unknown; till his Merit at last discover'd him. He was drawn out of his Solitude, and plac'd at the Head of Armies. Immediately upon his appearance, he convinc'd the World, that Philosophy was sufficient to make a Hero, and that the readiest way to Conquer our Enemies is to learn first to Conquer our Selves. Scarce had *Epaminondas* quitted his private Solitary Life before he Beat the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctra*, † and gave 'em such a Mortal Blow, that they never after were able to recover it. They lost 4000 of their Men, together with *Cleombrotus* their King, besides the Wounded, and the Prisoners. This was the first Action in which the *Greek* Nation began to weaken themselves. The Bloodiest Defeat hitherto cost little more than four or five hundred Men. *Sparta* at another time, animated as she was, or rather mortally incens'd against

(c 5)

Athens,

† *A City of Bæotia, Xen. l. 2. Paus. in Attic. Arcad. P. lyan. l. 2. Strateg. Aristid. in Panathen.*

Olymp. 1032 Ann. 2.

Plut. in
Pelop. &
in Præcep.
Polit.

Isoc. Orat.
an. Phil.
Stab, l. 9.
Rolib. l. 2.

Athens, could redeem by a Truce of 30 years, 800 of her Citizens, that had suffer'd themselves to be Surrounded. We may easily imagine what Consternation, or rather, what Despair the *Lacedemonians* were in, when they found themselves in an instant, without Men, without Allies, and almost at the Mercy of the Conqueror. The *Thebans* imagining themselves Invincible under their new General, Harra's'd *Attica*, Entred *Peloponnesus*, pass'd the River *Eurotas*, and went to Besiege *Sparta*. All the Prudence and Courage *Agésilas* had was scarce able to save her, by *Xenophon's* own Confession, who, to place the King, his Scholar's Picture in the best light he could, craftily drew that of *Epaminondas*, delineating his most Exalted Vertues but by halves, and putting his slight Mistakes in a full and open Prospect.

'Tis certain, the *Lacedemonians*, defeated as they were, without any Defence, in an Unwalled Town, could not long withstand the Victorious Army: but their Sagacious Commander was affraid of drawing
upon

upon his Back the united Forces of *Peloponnesus*, and more of raising the Jealousie of the *Grecians*, who would never forgive him, if at first attempt he should destroy so powerful a State, and pluck out, as *Leptine* used to say, one of the Eyes of Greece. He satisfy'd himself therefore with the Honour of having Humbled the Haughty, in whom the *Laconick* Language redoubled the fierceness of Command, and of having as he himself vaunted, reduc'd 'em to the necessity of lengthning their Monosyllables: However, he perpetuated the Memory of his Victory by a Monument of Justice, and Humanity; in the Re-establishment of *Messene*, whose Inhabitants the *Lacedemonians* had about three hundred years before expelled, or enslaved: He recalled from all parts the dispersed *Messenians*, restored 'em to the Possession of their Country, to which a long Exile had made them, as it were, strangers, form'd 'em into a Republick, which ever after honour'd him as her second Founder: He rested not long there. This Great Man so Reserv'd, so Moderate

Plut. in
Eelop. &
Prac. Pol.

Arist. Rhet
l. 3. c. 13.

Æil Var.
Hist. l. 13.
c. 42. Isocr.
in Archid.
Diodor.

derate in regard to himself, had a boundless Ambition for the Interest and Honour of his Country: not content with having made her Mistress at Land, he had a mind to gain her the Superiority at Sea. This Project, which no hands but his own could execute, was defeated by his Death. He died in the Arms of Victory at the Battel of *Mantineæ*, * and as some will have it, by the hands of *Gryllus*, *Xenophon's* Son. The *Thebans*, notwithstanding the loss of their Heroe, the Soul of their Counsels, and all their undertakings, were not wanting to maintain the Station in which he left 'em. Greece at this time was divided by three principal Factions. *Thebes* endeavoured to Raise her self upon the Ruins of *Sparta*, *Sparta*, to recover her Losses; and tho' *Athens* openly Embrac'd the Spartan Cause, especially since the *Lacedemonians* † had by a Solemn Treaty, resign'd to her the Sovereignty of the Sea, which so transported her with Joy, that then she first rais'd Altars to Peace, *Athens*, I say, was very well pleased to see these

* A Town of
Arcadia.

The Second
Year of the
104th. O-
lymp. Diod.
Daert. in
Xenoph.
Diod. l. 15.

† The 4th.
of the 103d
Olympiad.

Corn. Nep
in: Timol.

two Powers Harrasing each other, not doubting but to turn the Scale upon some opportunity taken to oppress them both. While the States of Greece contended with so much Impetuosity for an imaginary Precedency, they did nourish in their very Bowels the most dangerous of their Enemies. This Name belongs to *Philip of Macedon*, Son of King *Amintas* by his Queen *Eurydice*, or to express him in a more Glorious Relation, the Father of *Alexander the Great*. It was not † *Theopompus* his † *A Native of Chios, and Isocr. his Disciple.* fault, *Philip's* Contemporary, that we have not a compleat History of this Prince: The exactness, or, rather prolix style of the Historian had swell'd it up into fifty Volumes, all of which met with the same misfortune. We have but a few fragments left, dispers'd up and down, serving rather to make us sensible of our loss, than helping us to repair it. I will try however to collect these fragments, and patch 'em together with the Supplements of my own, that the Reader may at least have a taste of the matters they contain. *Philip* was

(a) *The 2d Year of the 99th Olymp.*

* *Alexander, and Perdiccas. Diod. Just. Pausan.*

† *The first Year of the 105th Olymp. Diod. Liban.*

Athen. Geomist. who Justin. relates the matter

*otherwise. * Philip's Elder Brother.*

Diod. l. 16. Orof. l. 3. c. 13 Ant. Gen. l. 17. c. 2. Demof. adv. Arif.

was born (a) at *Pella*, the youngest of several Brothers, * which excluded, or at least, thrust him very far from the Throne. Nothing in my Opinion, will serve more to illustrate his Talents, and his Qualities than to oppose the condition in which he found *Macedon*, to that wherein he left it. The News of a new Revolution in *Macedonia* coming to *Thebes* † he stole from thence, made the best of his way homewards, where he found the People all in a Consternation for the loss of *Perdiccas*, * Slain in a great Encounter with the *Illyrians*, and more for to see themselves surrounded with as many Enemies as they had Neighbours. The *Illyrians* were ready to enter into the Kingdom with great Forces: The *Peonians* infested it continually by their daily Incursions. The *Thracians* pretended to place *Pausanias*, a Prince of the Blood Royal, upon the Throne. The *Asbenians* espoused *Argens*, whom their General *Mantias* had orders to support with a good Fleet, and a considerable Body of their Troops. The *Macedonians*

onians in this Exigency stood in
 need of a Man, and had nothing
 but an Infant to rely upon, in the
 person of *Amyntas*, the Lawful Heir
 to the Crown: But necessity has
 laws of her own that supersede all
 others. The Nation justly alarm'd,
 deposed the Nephew; and instead of
 him whom Nature had called to the
 Crown, they made choice of ano-
 ther their pressing Circumstances re- Justin. l. 7.
 quired. *Philip* the new King, with-
 out any hesitation, made hast to an-
 swer the Publick Expectations. He
 inspected every thing, and reform'd
 what he found amiss: Reliev'd the
 sinking Courage of his People; re-
 establish'd and disciplin'd his Troops;
 so that in an instant he behav'd him-
 self not so much like a young King
 (but 22 years old) as a politick con-
 summated Prince, vers'd in the Art
 of Dissimulation; and who already,
 without the help of Experience, had Polian.
 learn'd, that sometimes to lose was Stat. l. 1.
 the proper way to gain his Ends. He began with evacuating *Amphibolis*,
 a Town seated upon the Frontiers of
 his Kingdom, and consequently of
 great

great use to him. He found he could not hold it without weakening his Army; and which was more without incensing the *Athenians*, with whom it was his interest to keep fair, and who challeng'd it as their Colony. On the other side; What reason was there for quitting to his Enemies the very Key of his Dominions? He resolv'd therefore to declare her free, and by that means set her at variance with her old Masters. In the mean time, by the force of Presents and Promises, he disarm'd the *Peonians*. By this management and dexterity he fix'd himself upon the Throne, and in a little time got rid of all Competitors. He shut the Entry into the Realm against *Pausanias*; then march'd against *Argenis*, met with him in the way to *Metbone*, defeated him, kill'd many of his Men, and took a great number of Prisoners; negotiated and over-reach'd *Athens* with a Peace; attack'd in the mean time the *Peonians*, reduc'd 'em to obedience; turn'd his Arms against the *Illyrians*, cut 'em in pieces and oblig'd 'em to deliver up to him all

In the 2d
Year of his
Reign, De-
most. ib.
Diod. ibid.
Oros. l. 3.
c. 12. just.
l. 7.

The PREFACE.

85

all they held in *Macedonia*. *En-* Polian. *ib.*
 courag'd by his success, he besieg'd
 and took *Amphipolis*; but instead of *Demost.*
 delivering it up, as he had promis'd, *ibid. &*
 to the *Athenians*, he took from 'em *fals. leg.*
Mydne, and *Potidea*; then he seized *Isoc. Orat.*
 in *Crenidi*, built two Years before by *ad Phil.*
 the *Thracians*, and called afterwards *Aristid.*
Philippi. † Near this Town, famous *Orat. 1.*
 afterward for the Defeat of *Brutus* *de Societ.*
 and *Cassius*; he broke up, and dis- † *The Rea-*
 cover'd some Mines, which every *der may*
 Year afterwards brought him in *find the si-*
 about 2000 *l.* A very considerable *tuation of*
 sum for those Times; the Revenues *it describ'd*
 of *Athens*, that pass'd for the richest *in Dion.*
 State in all *Greece*, amounting not to *Cassius.*
 so much by a great deal. By this *l. 47.*
 means *Macedon* abounded more in
 Money than it had done any time
 before; and *Philip* first ordered that
 a Piece of Gold to be coin'd, which
 was call'd by his Name, † and lasted † *The Phi-*
lippei.
Ac sunt numerari (says Plautus in Pæn.) aurei tre-
centi nummi, qui vocantur Philippei. Gratus Alexan-
dro Regi magno (saith Horace in his First Epist. ad
August.) fuit ille Chærilus, incultis qui versibus,
male natis, rettulit acceptos regule Numisma Phi-
lippei.

longer

Maxim.
Tyr. Serm.
19.

longer than his Monarchy. Mighty Advantages flow from a full Treasury. No man knew this better than he, or neglected it less. By the strength of his Funds he maintain'd a great Body of Foreign Troops, and had his Pensioners in almost all the Cities of Greece. The remaining Twenty and Twenty Years of his Reign may be distinguish'd by as many Victories, or Conquests in *Thessaly*, *Thrace*, in *Epirus*, in *Scythia*, and in *Eubæa*. I shall not enter into the Particulars of these Victories. His Conduct throughout the *Phocian War*, and at the Battle of *Cheronea*, sufficiently shew, though in little, what sort of man he was, either in Council, or at the head of his Armies. This Bloody War, the beginning of which I shall have occasion to shew hereafter, and touch upon some of the principal Events, lasted ten years with a great deal of warmth †.

† From the
2d Year of
the 106

Olymp. to the 3d Year of the 108. according
Diodor. for Pausanias adds a Year more.

the whole course of this War, Philip
 was Neuter in the midst of all Greece,
 and inclin'd in favour of the Phocians or
 Thebans. For besides that he was
 desir'd to see the two Contending
 Parties weaken and consume each
 other, he thought he might better
 employ his time and his Arms else
 where. The Thessalians begg'd his
 protection. He march'd to their
 assistance; defeated and expell'd the
 Tyrants, † and by that means secu-
 red to himself the Affection of that
 People; whose excellent Cavalry,
 inclin'd to the Macedonian Phalanx, had
 afterwards so great a share in his
 victories, and those of his Son. Re-
 turn'd from this Expedition, he sub-
 dued the Olynthians, whose Power
 had hitherto been a check to that of
 his Predecessors, and but a little be-
 fore had like to have utterly ruin'd
 his Father Amyntas. Here he began
 to discover himself, though not till
 he had dissembled to the utmost, and
 conceal'd his real Designs so artfully,
 that being ready to fall upon the Pho-
 cians, he perswaded them his aim was
 at Thebes, and that he designed to
 humble

† Lyco-
 phron, and
 Pitholaus,
 Tyrants of
 Phera.
 Dion.
 Just. l. 8.

Diod. l. 15.
 Isoc. in Ar-
 chid &
 Panegy.

humble her. 'Twas by this profound
 and impenetrable Secret he kept his
 Enemies asleep; deceiv'd his Allies
 and made 'em blind to their own In-
 terest. Thus, without drawing a
 Sword, he became Master of *Phocia*
 got himself declared Chief * *Amyntor*
 & *Etyon*, General of Greece against the *Per-*
sians, avenger of the God *Apollo*, and
 his Temple; and what was more to
 him than all the rest, he possess'd him-
 self of the Straits of *Thermopylae*, that
 famous Passage, which opened his
 way into Greece. The Victory of
Cheronæa † compleated the Subjection
 of the *Grecians*, gave him his full
 revenge upon the *Athenians*, who two
 Years before had forc'd him to raise
 the Siege of *Byzantium*, and crown'd
 his other Exploits. In this he show'd
 himself a greater Captain than any
 other of his Undertakings. At the
 beginning of the Engagement, in
 which his Son at 19 years of age com-
 manded one of the Wings of the *A-*
my; the *Macedonians* being very
 briskly charg'd, began to be shaken
 and to give ground. Immediately
Stratocles, one of the *Athenian* Gen-
 erals

*Diod. O.
 ros. l. 3.
 c. 12. De-
 mos. de
 fals. leg. &
 pro coron,

†The 3^d year
 of the 110
 Olymp.
 Demost.
 de cor. Di-
 od. l. 16.
 Oros. l. 3.
 c. 13.
 Frontin.
 l. 1. Stra-
 tag. l. 3.
 Diod. l. 16.
 Pausan l. 7,
 Arrian. l. 7.

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als, cry'd out, *Come, Brother Sol- Polian.*
rs, let us pursue 'em home to Mace- Stratag 14

on. Upon this Philip, who fore-
 w that the Enemy by their too
 eat forwardness would break their
 anks, and throw themselves into
 disorder, said very coolly, *The Athe-*
ans don't know how to conquer. In
 e mean time he contracted his Pha-
 nx, and retired in good order to an
 inence; from whence he thun-
 ed down upon 'em, broke, and to-
 ally routed 'em. In these two places
 es Philip's Life shine with the great
 lustre; these are the Master-pieces
 his Valour, and his Prudence. Thus
 acedonia, hitherto weak, unregar-
 d, often tributary, and always
 lig'd to seek protection from a-
 oad, became in an instant the
 mpire of Greece, and terror of A-

*In the Pho-
 cian Wa,
 and the
 Battel of
 Cheronea.*

Notwithstanding all this, *Philip* is
 no reputation, but with those who
 e verst in History. And even they
 ho use to judge of Heroes, as the
 ustom is, by the number of Provin-
 s they have conquered, make him
 me far short of *Alexander*, whose
 Actions

Actions surprize the Imagination, and satisfy the Curiosity of the most inquisitive after great and wonderful things. I own, upon a superficial view of these two Princes, *Alexander*, at first sight, will be preferred, and the glory of the Son will eclipse that of the Father. The one employ'd about 24 Years in subduing some Provinces of *Thrace*, or *Illyria*; and who more by craft, than otherwise seized on that Authority, which *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Thebes* had successively exercis'd in *Greece*. The other rais'd to the Throne at an Age that made *Demosthenes* look on him as a giddy Brain'd Boy, † and who undertook to break the Power of the *Persians*, and subdued that vast Empire almost as soon * as a Traveller could well pass over it; and carry his Arms from thence with the same Rapidity † as far as the Ocean, and to the remotest Countries. However, if upon a nearer Scrutiny, when we would determine the nature of their Actions, we place the difficulties and Advantages they both met withal in an equal Ballance, we must

Demost.
pro Ctesiph.
Plur.
Παῖς δὲ Κί-
μαργήτιν.

* In four
Years time

† In four
years after.

re ad

adily agree with *Tully*, and own that *Philip*
Son indeed was the greater Conque- *pum qui-*
, but the Father the greater Man. *dem, Mace-*
as indeed easier to Subue Asia, *donum Re-*
gisted by Greece, than to sub- *gem rebus*
gessis
the Greece, that had so often *& gloria*
conquered Asia. *supera-*
To dare Fight *tum à fi-*
with the Asiatics was enough to *lio; facili-*
eat 'em, And what was it Alexander *tate vero,*
did not dare to do? These Effemi- *& huma*
nate People have been knownto trem- *nitate su-*
ble at the approach of a handful of *periozem*
cedemonians; this made the Brother *fuisse vi-*
Olympias, King of Epire say in his *deo Itaq;*
Asian Expedition, Whilst I am Fight- *alter sem-*
ing here with Men, my Nephew is Com- *per Mag-*
ing wi'b Women, Had he said so of *nu, alter*
his Brother in Law, he had wrong'd *saep tur-*
him. 'Tis not easily conceiv'd how *pisimus*
Philip Invested, and almost Besieged *suit Cu.de*
his Dominions by a parcel of *Off. l. r.*
barlike Nations, most of 'em able
impose Laws upon Macedonia,
could get the better of so many E-
mies, and by Force of Arms com-
el Greece to own him for their Chief,
which Quality he Form'd the Re-
solution of Invading the Persians
his advanc'd Guards Commanded
by

†Atalus & by his Lieutenants † were already
 Parmenio Motion for that Expedition, wh
 Just. 1. 9. Death (2) Robb'd him of the
 c 5. nour of it, and reserv'd it for
 Diod. A 1. Successor. His Successor's first
 Olymp. 3. was to secure the Crown, to get
 (2) He di- of those who disputed it with him
 ed at 47 and punish his Fathers Murderers
 Years of Age. Just. He had no sooner settled his
 ibid. c. 1. Kingdom, but he began to Inva
 Diod. Ar. his Neighbours. In less than tw
 Just. Curt. years he Reduced the Rebellion
Thessalians, Subdued *Thrace*; in o
 days time he pass'd the *Danube* Over
 threw the *Getae*, Took one of the
 Sons, Re-pass'd the River: After th
 he received the Homages, and ga
 Audience to the Embassies of sev
 ral Nations; in his return, he Ch
 stified the *Illyrians*, brought other N
 tions into Subjection, flew to *Thes*
 who, upon a false Report o
 his Death had Revolted again
 the *Macedonian* Garison; Besieg
 Took, and Raz'd the City in t
 space of twenty four hours. Af
 this, knowing that this Example
 his Severity would Bridle the rest
Greece, who had already Proclaim

him Generalissimo, he found himself in a Condition Courageously to Execute what his Successor had wisely Projected. One of 'em therefore seems design'd to improve a Monarchy, and to extend it over the Universe, the other to Found and Establish it. The Son wanted one Quality which was very eminent in the Father; that Moderation, and Complacency, so highly useful in all intricate Conjunctions, and very often acquired with greater difficulty than either more Illustrious Qualities. Alexander was for going fiercely on to Glory; He best lik'd the most shining ways that lead to it; he look'd on others that were more easie, as a sort of Weakness, and want of Courage. His High, Imperious Soul knew neither how to Temporise, or Yield to Necessity. Bold, Fiery, and Impetuous; so far from managing, or dividing his Jealous Neighbours, that he would have been for Breaking them altogether, which in the end would have made them Unite to crush him. Whereas Philip, on the other side, made it his Business to

(d)

Sow

Sow Divisions among his Enemies; took care to elude, and divert the Blows that threatned him, that He in his Turn might strike with more Surety; equally cautious in Good, as well, as Bad Fortune, he never mismanaged a Victory, but alike prepared either to seek, or attend it, he delay'd or made hast as the Posture of his Affairs required; he left nothing to the fantasticalness of Chance, but was always out of the reach of Prudence; always unshaken, always, in the just bounds that separate true Valour from Rashness: 'Tis true, this Assembly of extraordinary Qualities was absolutely necessary to a Prince, who, as I observed before, was to make his Fortune, and who could form no great Designs, till he had Subjected a Nation the free of the most Understanding, and Warlike of any in the World. On the contrary, to Encounter with, and Subdue with so much Expedition many Millions of Barbarians, that with 30000 well Disciplin'd Men bred up in Conquest, there want nothing but Assurance, Boldness

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Impetuosity. One may say therefore of *Philip*, and *Alexander*, that they were precisely Born for the Business they accomplish'd; that the execution of their Ambitious Projects absolutely required two sorts of Heroes; and that there is as great a coherence between the exploits of each, and his Character, as there is a difference between the Character and exploits of the one, and those of the other. This, if I am not mistaken, is the only Conformity that appears between these two Conquerors in other respects of no resemblance to each other. I don't think *Alexander* could better have play'd *Philip's* Game, than *Philip* could that of *Alexander*. I believe indeed, *Philip* could not have made so speedy a Conquest of *Persia* as his Successor did; and much less do I believe, that *Alexander*, from a Simple Prince of the Blood, Renov'd from the Crown by several degrees, and detained as an Hostage in an Enemy's Country, would have found out the means of making himself King, and, suffering his Enterprizes to ripen by degrees, partly by

(d 2)

Pre-

The PREFACE.

Presents, and partly by main Force have rendred himself in the end Master of all Greece. What if in this Comparison I should venture without fear of Offending that Admiration which naturally flows from those Prodigious Actions that shine throughout Alexander's Life, to affirm that it was more difficult for a Prince of Macedon to become Master of Greece than for the King of Macedon, and Master of Greece to make a Conquest of the East. This at least I may boldly affirm, that Philip ow'd his Greatness to himself, whereas Alexander had never gain'd the Title of Great without such a Predecessor as Philip. This probably is what Curtius meant when the Liberties of the Table, and the heat of the Wine, (betrayers of our most secret thoughts) encourag'd him to tell the Son to his Face: *Thou hadst not Conquer'd but for thy Father's Soldiers.* Alexander's Jealousie, which in the fulness of his Pride and Glory so far transported him as to kill (a) with his own hand his Favorite for his too great Sincerity seen

† Curt. l. 8.

(a) Go thou and find out Philip, said Alexander to him, whilst he was stabbing him.

seems to own (b) he was no less sensible of the Truth than the Indiscretion of the Reproach.

I doubt whether *Alexander* can be well compared to *Cæsar*, notwithstanding that Comparison has been generally received, or universally maintained: Neither the unanimous agreement of the Ancients and Moderns upon this Subject, nor my unwillingness to be singular in an Opinion can hinder me from thinking that this Comparison is built upon a wrong Principle. I believe there will appear a greater resemblance between *Philip*, and *Cæsar*, at least, if we ground it upon their Manners, and Characters, rather than their Successes. *Philip*, perhaps had no place among the Lives of *Plutarch*, because that Historian pre-possess'd, in favour of his own Nation, wanted the Conqueror of *Asia* to oppose to him of *Rome*; and foresaw very well, that in the eyes of the Multitude, the most Illustrious of the *Romans*, Master of an Empire that labour'd under its own weight, would be too great a match for a *Macedonian*, who acted in a nar-

(b) *Siraf-*
care agin-
tavidentur
Tacit. An. l.
6. 34.

row Sphere, and whose Conquests had no other Theatre than the adjacent parts of a petty Kingdom: At first glance indeed there seems a resemblance in every thing between *Cæsar* and *Alexander*; the extent of their Conquests, their Valour, Activity, Vigilancy, and that Sublimity of Soul, which made 'em sensible that they deserved to Command the rest of Mankind, together with an Imperious Passion, that would let 'em endure no Superior, but made 'em look on the World as their Inheritance. But when we come to examine 'em at leisure, trace 'em from their Cradles, study their Inclinations, observe their proceedings and their progresses, we shall find this resemblance to diminish, or fall to nothing. Nothing certainly can be more opposite than the means they made use of to advance their Designs. Nature perhaps had not so great a share in this diversity, as Education and the Conjectures that attended 'em. *Cæsar*, born a private Person, and persecuted from his Infancy by the chief of his Country,

in discovering himself would have been Ruined. He stood in need of an extream circumspection, or rather profound Dissimulation, to elude the Jealousie of a Faction, who would otherwise have excluded him from all Honours and Employments. *Alexander*, on the other hand; Born the Son of a King, and Presumptive Heir to a Crown, knew not how to Dissemble, nor would he suffer himself to lie under any constraint: From his very Infancy he look'd on himself as the Master of the World, and was sorry he had but one to Conquer. In a word, a Man so Ambitious, who, ready to Invade *Asia*, reckoned as nothing whatever the Rights of Succession had acquired him, and therefore distributed his Patrimony among his Courtiers, reserving only Hope to himself; a great Spirit, who forgetting the extent of his own Dominions, and reduc'd to the continual necessity of Conquering or Perishing, thought he should lessen himself, and appear like a simple Adventurer, if in exchange for Peace he accepted of

* Darius
Offering
him half
his Empire,
Parmenio
said, I
would ac-
cept of it,
if I was *Alexander*;
and, I repli-
ed *Alexander*, if I
was *Parmenio*, ad-
ding, The
Firma-
ment can-
not bear
two Suns,
nor the
Earth two
Masters.

† His Mo-
ther *Olympias*
sent
to him, to
bid him
forbear set-
ting her
and *Juno*
at Vari-
ance.

half the Richest, and largest Empire
in the World; * a Daring Soul, who
would not endeavour either, to avoid,
nor remove Obstacles, but surmount
'em; who made no distinction be-
twixt Prudence and Baseness, and
who either in his Projects or Actions,
presum'd he had Fortune at Com-
mand, so haughty as to think him-
self Master of his own Fate, and
that of Mankind; in short, a kind
of extravagant, who, weary of be-
ing only a Man, declared himself
the Son of *Jupiter*, † pretended to
be a God, and succeeded so well, as
to make his Exploits lessen the Rid-
culousness of his Pretensions to Di-
vinity. This makes *Alexander* a sort
of Heroe by himself, and forms a
Character which allows no Compari-
son. But for *Philip* and *Cæsar*, the nearer
we approach them, and consider 'em,
no matter on whatever side, the greater
Resemblance shall we find be-
tween 'em. Their Birth call'd nei-
ther of 'em to the Supream Com-
mand, but seem'd rather to Con-
demn 'em to a perpetual Subjection.
They made their way to Sovereignty
and

and did that Justice to themselves which the condition of their Births had denied them. *Philip* came not to the Crown till he had Deposed in the same Person his King, his Nephew, and his Pupil. *Cæsar* Descended from one of the principal Houses of *Rome*, Usurp'd the Dominion by turning against his Country the Arms She had entrusted in his hands. The first committed by his Brother for an Hostage to the *Illyrians*, and afterwards to the *Thebans*, spent his Youth in Foreign Countries. The second by the mistrust of *Sylla*, who said, that in a young Man of his Temper many *Marimæ* surviv'd, saw himself oblig'd at the age of seventeen to flee for Refuge to the King of *Bythinians*: This resemblance that appears in the beginning, runs through the course of their Lives. The Ambition, with which they were Govern'd, prompted to them the same manner of proceedings, which they followed with an exact conformity. But in my Opinion, that which most effectually justifies this Parallel, and demonstrates to People

(d 5)

who

who are neither byass'd by Prejudice, nor Influenced by common Opinion, the agreeableness there is in it, is, that they both were the Founders of their own Greatness, that they both aspired with an equal Success, one, to change the whole Face of Affairs in *Greece*, the other in *Rome*: In short, that each in the execution of his Design, express'd the same sense of things, chose such Measures, and met with circumstances so nearly resembling those of the other, as if Nature, and Fortune had been contending to delineate in *Cæsar*, the most perfect Image of *Philip*: Both of 'em too weak and too discreet, to aim openly, to shew their Design, had recourse at first to Craft and Dissimulation: They artfully conceal'd their Ambition, and oppress'd the Publick Liberty, under the specious pretence of defending it. *Philip* Courageously Protected the *Thessalians*, delivered 'em out of the hands of their Tyrants, took care to encourage the *Therians* in their Emulation to *Athens*, and so effectually gained the confidence of those two States, that they

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suffer'd him to get into his Possession
Phocis, and the *Thermopylae*, which
 made him able to give Laws to his
 Enemies, and his Allies. *Cæsar* with
 the same Artifice, fomented under
 hand the Jealousies of the Principal
 Citizens against *Pompey*, oblig'd him
 to Court his Alliance, Marry'd his
 Daughter to him, obtained, together
 with the Government of the *Gauls*,
 the Command of a very Powerful
 Army, and never let his designs ap-
 pear till he was in a condition to de-
 stroy at once his Son in Law, and the
 Common wealth. 'Tis not only in
 these Methods of Raising himself,
 that *Cæsar* resembled *Philip*; Their
 Opposers were of the same Temper,
 and Ruin'd themselves by the very
 same weakness. *Pompey* lost himself
 by his too much Confidence *, he had
 never been Conquer'd, could he have
 been perswaded to think it was not
 a thing impossible; and if his own
 Prosperity, and the Respect that *Cæ-*
sar shew'd him, had not lull'd him
 into so great a Security, that, con-
 trary to *Cicero's* Advice, he neglected
 the Measures and precautions neces-
 sary

*Cæsarem
 cepit sero
 timere
 Cic. Ep. l. 16*

sary for his Support ; a like presumption Ruined *Athens*. She never could be brought to Fear, till she was Reduc'd to Despair. That haughty Republick could not conceive the *Macedonians*, at other times her Tributaries,* and whose Kings were wont to sue for the Favour, and Protection of her Generals,† would ever pretend to Subject her, and domineer over her. In vain did *Demosthenes* endeavour to undeceive her, she

* Demost.
1d. Olymp.

† The Athenians
had assisted
Amyntas,
Philip's Fa-

ther against the Olynthians, by whom he was threatened with an approaching, and total Ruine. This strict Friendship continued even after the Death of Amyntas, with Euridice, Amyntas's Widow, and Philip's Mother. She implored the assistance of Iphicrates, against an Usurper of the Macedonian Crown, and to move more effectually the Pity of the Athenian General, this Desolate Princess had recourse to a Stratagem worthy her Sex. She took two of her Children, Perdiccas, and Philip, held the last upon her own Knee, and threw the other into Iphicrates's Arms, with these words, Iphicrates, Remember that the Father of these Orphans had always a Friendship for thy Country, and Adopted thee ; this ties thee under a double Obligation ; The Friendship the King had for Athens obliges thee to vindicate us Publickly, as thy Friends, and the tenderness the Father had for thee in particular, requires from thee a Brotherly Love for the se young Princes. Iphicrates, touch'd with this Scene, Expell'd the Usurper, and Restor'd the Lawful Sovereign, *Æsch.* de fals Leg.

resolved

resolv'd not to see, and opened
not her Eyes till a senseless securi-
ty, and an invincible stupidity
had thrown her into the hands
of the Enemy she so much despis'd.
Moreover as vehement a desire as
these great men, we are now compar-
ing together, had for glory, they
were however Masters in the Art of
Diffimulation, and never used Force
till they had found Policy ineffectu-
al. *Philip* valu'd himself less upon
his success in Battel than in Negotia-
tions; in which he knew very well
his Generals nor his Soldiers could
lay claim to any share. *Cæsar's* first
steps towards the Sovereignty, I mean
his secret Practices and Intelligence
with *Catiline*, *Lentulus*, and the other
Conspirators, shew that if by them
he could have gain'd his Ends, he
would not have stuck much at those
pompous Titles, which are sometimes
the Rewards of most enormous Vio-
lences, and most manifest Injustice.
Provided our Heroes Master their
Designs, they are not too delicate in
the choice of the means that lead to
'em. The nearest way appears the
best;

Diod. l. 16.

Polyæn.

Serap.

l. 4

best ; they spare for no cost in the encouragement of their Spies and Emisseries ; prefer Success to show ; chuse to purchase, rather than to subdue ; and to corrupt, than conquer. Offers , Promises, Insinuations ; all means are made use of to gain those over to a neutrality , who are able to do 'em any mischief. What did not not *Philip* promise the *Athenians*, while he saw 'em in a condition of traversing his Designs ? * What Artifices did *Cæsar* make use of, when it was either his business to sow Divisions among the *Gauls* ; or to win over to his Party the Tribunes, and the chief of the Commonwealth ? This last, after he had subdued *Gaul* with Roman Iron, † subdued *Rome* with Gallic Gold. The other never broke down a Gate he had not tryed first to open,

* Polyæn.

Strat. l. 4.

Cic. Epist.

12. l. 1.

ad Attic,

& Ost. Val.

Max. l. 7.

c. 1. Hor.

l. 3. Od.

ib.

Philip preach'd another Lesson to his Son, and reproach'd him for setting a value upon those Mercenary Minds that did not present, but sell themselves. Præclare in Epistola quadam Alexandrum Filium Philippus accusat, quod largitione benevolentiam Macedonum confectetur. Quæ re, Malum, inquit, ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares fore, quas pecuniâ corrupisses ? An tu id agis ut Macedones non te Regem situm, sed Mini-

trum

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præbi
gition
accipi
Hoc i
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strum, & præbitorem putent? bene Ministrum, & præbitorem quis sordidum regi: Melius etiam quod largitionem corruptelam dixit esse, sit enim deterior qui accipit. atque ad idem semper expectandum paratior. Hoc ille filio; sed præceptum putemus omnibus, *Cic. de off. l. 2.*

and allowed no place impregnable, but where Money could gain no entrance. Their Military Designs and Adventures bear as great a relation as their Politicks. *Cæsar*, who subdued *Gall*, pass'd the *Rhine*, and defeated the *Germans*; recalls *Philip* to our Memory, who subdued part of *Thrace*; pass'd the *Danube*, and triumph'd more than once over the *Sythians*. Both the one and the other train'd up Men capable to second 'em, and to perfect the Art of War. One upon an Idea taken from *Homer*, who compared the Union of the Grecian Generals to a Battalion, whose Bucklers join'd together, make an impenetrable Front; contriv'd that new Military Body, so well known under the Name of the *Macedonian Phalanx*; treated with distinction his choicest Soldiers; honoured 'em with the Name of Comerades; engag'd 'em

Polyb.
Demosth.
Olynth. 2.
Pollux
l. 1. c. 10.

Ælian.
Var. Hist.
l. 14 c 49.

Polyæn.
Strat. l. 1.

Nec, Milites
sed b'audio-
re nomine
commilito-
nes, etiam
Quirites
appellabat,
Suet. in
Cæs.

'em cheerfully to endure the Fatigues of the War, and banish'd from his Camp all Licentiousness, and the most innocent Liberties. The other, in what regards the Science of Encampments; the order and expedition of Marches; the building of Bridges, and dispositions of a Siege, was a compleat Master, and left such Lessons behind him, as the most Famous Captains before his time knew nothing of, and all that followed him have studied. Besides, he disciplin'd his Legions; form'd 'em according to his own Model; prepar'd 'em for the readiest and swiftest Motions; made himself familiar with the Soldiery; and commanded more like the Father of a Family, than the General of an Army, when the Discipline of War would allow of it. So that by an Affability that deserves so much the more submission and respect, by how much it seems to waive and dispense with it; these great Captains gain'd from their Soldiers infinite Services, and a boundless Obedience. Both of 'em were engag'd in Sieges, Conflicts, and Bat-

tels;

els; both of 'em indefatigable Warriors, and on occasion audacious. Presuming discreetly upon their good fortune, they dared, upon occasion, undertake Difficulties; but always abstained from attempting Impossibilities; believing their vigilancy and attention to lay hold on the lucky moment, was the only way to render 'em superior. Nor did they disdain the use of Stratagem, when they thought they would be of service to their Designs. So far from being ashamed of attacking the Enemy by Night, and of stealing the Victory from him, that they set a value upon the Contrivance. The Disgraces of their Youth had taught 'em the necessity of Forecast, and the Art of Shifting. Sagacious diffidence, which serves to place Danger in its proper light, permitted 'em to meet it with intrepidity, but not with foolhardiness. *Cæsar*, as much *Cæsar* as he was, apprehended the Caprices of Fortune; and according to him, all that one might hope, would not recompence what one might fear from her. The uncertainty of the Chance

Polyan.

Strat. 1. 4,

& 8. Front.

tin. Strat.

teg. 1. 2.

e. 8. & ali-

bi.

* Having drunk too excessively, he danc'd upon the place of Battel, went from Rank to Rank, and grossly insulted over the Misfortune of the Prisoners, *Diod. Plut.*

Chance of War rais'd as great Anxieties in Philip. His * Carriage after the Battel of *Cheronea* exposed him

in the Sallies and Extravagancies of joy he had conceived for the Victory, and which made *Demades*, one of his Prisoners, reproach him thus: *You are playing the part of Therfites, whilst you have nothing to do but to act that of Agamemnon* †. Besides all this, the course of their Expeditions seem'd

† This Reproach was not lost,

Demades, with 2000 more Athenians were released without Ransome; but when they demanded their Equipage, I believe, said Philip, they think in earnest they were not beaten.

included almost in an equal space of time; and Fortune, to have some share in the likeness, has plac'd the Scenes of the principal Actions of their Lives in small distance the one from the other; and plac'd the Fields of Battel, * wherein their mighty Fates were decided in almost the very same Country. Add to this an

* *Pharsalia*, & *Cheronea*

equal

equal Clemency and Moderation, in
the midst of a most profuse Prosperi-
ty. *Philip* become Arbiter of Greece,
contented himself with the Title of
General; and *Cæsar*, tho' absolute
Master of *Rome*, was satisfy'd with
that of Dictator. One may say,
That by these Names more soft and
agreeable (though at the bottom they
took nothing from 'em that was real
and effectual) they had a mind to
smooth the Pride, and soften the Dis-
grace of the Vanquish'd. One can't
but love *Philip's* Generosity at *Chero-*
nea, † when he releas'd to the *A-*
thenians 2000 of their Prisoners with-
out Ranom: Nor forbear admiring
Cæsar's Humanity, who in his Victo-
ry at *Pharsalia*, commanded his Sol-
diers to spare the Blood of their Fel-
low Citizens, and received very fa-
vourably the most zealous of *Pompey's*
Party. The *Macedonian* is said to
have known how to swallow Inju-
ries; and the *Roman* † knew how to
pass 'em by without resentment.
They had, or at least affected, an
extream insensibility in this Point:
Whether they thought Dissimulation
was

† Polyb.
l. 5 Suid.
in Φιλίπ-
πος De-
mad. Orat.
ἐπερ δο-
δεκάπας

† On. c. 25.
of his Sub-
li.

was worth more than it cost 'em ; or that in their Opinion, Contempt was a better Revenge than Anger. Some of Philip's Friends advising him to punish a Man who had spoken ill of him at Court, *Very well*, said he, *this is the ready way to make him rail at me all the World over.* Another time being desired to do the same thing by an honest man for the same Offence, *Let us first see*, said he, *if we have not given him any occasion.* And understanding that this very man was indigent, having received no Gratitude from the Court, he made him a Present: This turn'd Satyr into Commendation; and upon that Philip said, *Kings have it in their power to make themselves either beloved or hated.* As he was one day assisting at the sale of some Captives, in a sort of undecent posture, one of 'em whisper'd him in the Ear, and advis'd him to pull down the Skirt of his Garment: *Here set this man at liberty*, said he, *I did not know he was my Friend.* The Court importuning him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians for having publicly hiss'd at him in the

Olympick

Olympick Games, How will they serve me, reply'd he, should I disoblige them, who can't forbear affronting me after so many Obligations? At the end of an Audience he had been giving the Athenian Embassadors, who were come to complain of some Acts of Hostility, he askt 'em, If he were able to serve 'em in any thing? The greatest Service thou canst do us, answered Demochares, is to go hang thy self. Unmov'd at these Words, though he saw the whole Court justly provok'd at 'em; Go tell your Masters, said he, that they who dare be guilty of such Insolences, are more haughty, and less inclin'd to peace, than those that know how to forgive 'em. Cæsar, on his part, shew'd not the least resentment at Catullus his severe Epigrams; and as for the rest, he extended his Clemency so far, as to be reproachable for no man's Death but his own. Let us examine a little into their Judgments; both of 'em were lovers and favourers of Learning; both of 'em caress'd Learned Men, and loaded 'em with Favours: Both of 'em had a great Passion for the Theatre; insomuch, that each had

Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus fuit & contumeliarum patientia. Senec. de ira, l. 3. c. 23.

Cæsari proprium, & peculiare sit clementiæ insigne, quâ usque ad poenitentiam omnes superavit. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 26.

* Neoptolemus and Roscius.

had for his Favourite the most Famous Actor * of his Time. They both understood Wit; and lov'd to hear and did themselves utter Witty Sayings. *Philip* having received a Wound near his Throat, and his Chyrurgeon importuning him every day for some new Demand; *Take what thou wilt* said he, *for I know thou hast me by the Throat.* 'Tis said of him, That upon the hearing of two Villains, who accused each other of several notorious Crimes, he banish'd one of 'em, and condemn'd the other to follow him. *Cæsar* tired with a Fellow that was reading to him in an effeminate musical Tone, told him; *If thou thinkest thou art singing, thou singest very ill; if thou thinkest thou art reading, thou singest.* Another time being troubled by the importunity of *Pomponius*, who was continually saying to him, *I have receiv'd a Wound in your Service, I have received it in my Face: Very well,* reply'd *Cæsar*, *take care hereafter yo don't look back whilst you are running away.*

One may likewise see a great conformity in the Judgment of the most famous Orators of the Time, in which each of these Captains lived, concerning 'em : *Philip* found in *Demosthenes*, and *Cæsar* in *Cicero*, an Enemy to his Ambition, and an Admirer of his Eloquence. *Demosthenes* was so exasperated against *Philip*, that in the height of his sorrow for the loss of his Daughter, he could not forbear, with a Garland of Flowers on his Head, declaring, in behalf of the Gods to the *Athenians*, the death of that Prince; nor could he at the same time deny him the commendations of an Eloquent man; contenting himself with this Answer to those, who were commending *Philip* for his Art in speaking; that they were extolling in a Prince the Excellencies of a Declaimer. *Cicero*, whose Aversion to *Cæsar* carry'd him so far as to make him complain more than once, that he was not invited to the delicious Banquet of the *Ides* (a) of March; owned, (b) That in all sorts of Writing, there is not a better Model than *Cæsar*.

Plut. in
vit. Demosth.
& 10.
Rhet. Æ-
isch. con.
Ctesiph.
Suid.

Plut. in
Demosth.

(a) *Cæsar*
was kill'd
the *Ides*

of March. *Quam vellem ad illas Pulcherrimas epulas me
Idibus*

Idibus Martii in vitas res reliquarum nihil habere
Ep. 1. 10.

(b) Cæsar autem rationem adhibens, consuetudinem vitasam & corruptam purâ, & incorruptâ consuetudine emendatâ. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum latinorum adhibet illa Oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum videtur tanquam tabulam bene pictam collocare in bono lamine. Hunc cum habeat principum laudans in communibus, non video cui debeat cedere. Tum Brutus Orationes quidem ejus mihi vehementer probantur complures autem legi. Antiqui etiam Commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum valde quidem iniquam probandos. Non enim sunt, recti, & venusti, omni ornatu Orationis tanquam veste detracta; sed dum voluit, alias habere parata sumerent qui vellent scribere Historiam, ineptis gratum suffragasse fecit, qui volunt illa calamistris marere: Sane quidam homines à scribendo deterruit. Cic. in Brut.

They bear as great a coherence in their Follies and Vices as in their Vertues, and Excellencies. Alike in the Irregularities, and their Weaknesses and equal propensions (f) to those infamous Pleasures that are justly detested as the disgrace, and horror of Nature. This depravity of Manners encouraged the attendance of Corrupt Courtiers. A Troop of Dissolute Debauchees, Buffoons, Pantomimes and what is worse, of detestable Flatterers, (g) whom Avarice, (c) and Ambition send in Crouds into the presence

(f) Theopompus
(in Arhen.
i. 6 & in
Demet.
Phaler de
Elocut. c.
27.) Observes that
Philip had
Courtiers,
who went
under the name of his Friends, and yet deserved that of

Mistress

Suetonius (in *Jul. Cæsar*.) saith, that *Curio* call'd Cæsar a Husband for every Wife, and a Wife for every Husband. The Soldiers, in his Triumph over the Gauls sung out, *Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias*: *Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Cæsarem*. Cæsar, who has Subdu'd the Gauls enters in Triumph this day; but *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, who Subdued Cæsar, has had no Triumph at all.

(g) *Thø Philip* loved Flatterers, and encouraged 'em so far, as to reward with the Title of King in *Thessaly* the Flatteries of *Thrasideus*, yet sometimes he was pleas'd with the Truth. He maintained a Man, (*Æl. Var. Hist. 8. c. 15*) who was to tell him every day before he gave Audience, (*Philip*, remember thou art Mortal,) Nay, he suffered *Aristotle*, (*Arist. Ep. ad Phil*) to set him Lessons upon the Art of Government. He said moreover, that he was much oblig'd to the Athenian Orators, who in their *Invectives*, had taught him to mend his Manners.

presence of Great Men, had the greatest share in their Esteem and Liberality: Add to all this, that their Morals, by which they guided themselves in their Conquest, were very like. (d) *Æl. Var. Hist. 1. c. 12.* *Philip* did not stick to say, (d) That Children were to be amused with Playthings, and Men with Oaths. Cæsar, for his part, had continually these Verses of *Euripides* in his Mouth: (e) If the Laws are to be violated, for the sake of Ambition, *Euripides* de *Phinissu* habebat; nam si violandum est jus regnandi gratia violandum est. *Cic. de Off. 1. 3.*

(e)

of

of Empire they are to be violated. Misfortunes shew them to be born to the like Accidents. Being themselves Disloyal Husbands, they in their turns met with the Infidelity they deserved. The scandalous Chronicles reproach *Olympias* with more than *Jupiter*, and *Pompeia* with other Adventures than the Mysteries of the good Goddess. However it be, their Wives behaved themselves so loosely, that they were forc'd to have recourse to Repudiation; a Punishment no less shameful to him that inflicts it, than to her who undergoes it. Their manner of Death compleats their resemblance. The first was Assassinated just upon his Expedition into *Persia* (b). The Second upon the point of Marching against the *Parthians*: Both the one and the other fell by the contrivances of their

(b) The first Year of the III Olymp. in the height of his Revels for the Marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. A denial of Justice cost this Prince his Life, of which take this short Account. *Antiochus* in a debauch infamously abused *Pausanias* a young *Macedonian*, of Noble Birth; and not content with this Violence from himself, he prostituted him to all his Guests, one after another. *Pausanias* for a long time after solicited a Revenge due to so Ignominious an Affront, and never ceas'd to implore the Royal Power to assist him. But

Philip,

Mi- Philip, either out of complaisance to *Attalus* the Uncle of
 (be) *Leopatra*, whom he had Married after the Divorce of his
 Dis- first Wife *Olympias*, or out of regard to his own Follies
 turns in the same kind, never gave ear to *Pausanias's* Petition ;
 ryd who, from being Angry, grew Mad thereupon, and cal-
 coach ing his Judge to Account, imagined the way to clear his
 and reputation, was to soil it with an Abominable Paricide.
 in the *Pol. l. 5. c. 10. Diod. l. 16. Zonar. Annal. Tom 10.*
 How *Josephus l. 11. c. 7. Antiq. Jew. l. 9. Oros. l. 3. c. 14. Artax-*
 hem- *xerxes Ochus King of Persia dy'd the same Year.*

Creatures, (i) and Relations. Both (i) Olym-
 or having no regard to some sinister *pias and*
 presages and forewarning Advices. *Alexand.*
 goes such was the King, to whose Pro- *are thought*
 bleats *Demosthenes* put a stop so often *to have*
 way by the force of his Eloquence. This *had a*
 editi- *band in the*
 upon *Philip upon his Expedition designed against the Persian,*
 the *consulted the Oracle of Delphos, the Pythia, who had the Re-*
 ne O- *putation of Philippizing, Cic. de Divin. l. 2. Minut. Fel.*
 their *Octav. Eschin. made him a very ambiguous Answer, which*
 after the Blow was given, was look'd on, according to Custom
 as an evident Prophecy of his approaching Fate. *Diod. l. 16.*

Orator born (1) two years after (1) Olym-
 Philip, had not for his Father a fil- 99. *An. 4.*
 ny smocking Blacksmith, as *Juvenal*
 pleased to describe him (a); but a (a) *Set. 10.*
 Man who employed a great number in *Aphob.*
 of Slaves to work at his Forges. 'Tis
 not out of a Ridiculous dotage upon

(c 2) my

(b) *At seven Years of Age, Demost. Orat. 1. in Aphob.*

(c) *Æschin in Timar. * Battalus was a Play-er upon the Flute, according to*

Antiphanes (who quotes Athenæus, l. 1. §. 1. & Clem. Alexand. l. 2. Strom. a soft, Effeminate Fellow; according to the others, a Poet of the same Character, Clem. l. 3. Pædag, Phot. in Biblioth. Joan Brædæus, Miscel. l. 1. c. 20.

(d) *Demo- sthen. ibid. Dyonyf. Halic. lib. 1. c. 1. οὐδὲν οὐκ οὐκ*
** Cic. 1 de Orat. Val. l. 8. c. 7. Libert. in Euclid.*

my Author, I endeavour to ennoble him. I who demand for him no other Titles of Nobility than the Merit of his Works, and who besides judge of every Man by his Actions; propose to assert no more than what is warranted by History, which tells us besides, that Demosthenes lost his Father (b) when he was very young, continuing under the Conduct of his Mother Cleobule, whose chief care was to Effeminate him by a tender, delicate Education. (c) Infomuch that his Companions in Derision, call'd him *Battalus* *. After this he fell into the hands of Tutors, who took more pains to get his Money (d) than cultivate his Mind. We have in him an evident Example that Orators are made by Art, and not by Nature. For, besides his untoward Education, which, too often influences the whole Life, he had some natural * Defects very incompatible with the Profession

on he Embraced. A thick, restiff
Tongue, hardly pronouncing the
Letters that require any Emphasis,
or pliantness of the Organ; a trem-
bling Voice, given to interrupt the
articulation of the words, and destroy
the Harmony necessary to the most
Noble Expressions! In fine, an out-
side void of that Eloquence, which
takes the Eye, and prepares the way
for perswasion. Thus *Demosthenes* fail'd
in his first attempt, in which he Suc-
ceeded so ill, that spite and distaste
had like to have banished him for
ever from the Bar and the Pulpit;
however, perseverance, and applica-
tion surmounted all. *Isocrates* (1), *Plato*
(2), and *Isæus* (3), initiated his Elo-
quence; but Action being, accord-
ing to his Judgment the chief, or ra-
ther the only part of an Orator, (a)

† He had also three Masters to in-
struct him in the art of Action. *Isocrates* (1), *Plato* (2), and *Isæus* (3), initiated his Elo-
quence; but Action being, according to his Judgment the chief, or rather the only part of an Orator, (a)
c. 10. actionem in dicendo primas, secundas, & tertias
obtinere solitum tradunt. An Expression taken from the an-
cient Stage, on which there were never but three Actors at a
time, viz. the two interlocutors, and the Chorus, Nec quarta lo-
loqui persona laboret. *Hor. de AN. Poet.* † *Neoptolem* accor-
ding to *Phocius*; *Andronicus*, according to *Plutarch*; *Saty-*
rus, according to *Quintilian*.

(1) *Plut.*
Plot. in 10.
Rhet. Aul.
Gell. l. 3.
c. 13.
(2) *Cic. in*
Brut. de
Clar. Orat.
de 1. de
Orat. de 1.
de Off. La-
ert. l. 3.
(3) *Juven.*
Sat. 10
Plut. in
Demosth.
Dion in
Isæus.

(a) *Cic. 3.*
de Orat.
Val. l. 12.

Plut. Li-
ban.

struct him in the comeliness of gesture, justness of motion, and graces of pronunciation. To these foreign Censors he added a domestick one, if the Expression may be allowed, that never failed him; I mean his glass, which he made use of to let him know what others would not tell him, or at least were weary of repeating to him. These faithful Monitors, and frequent Lectures produc'd wonders, and acquired him a vehemence of Action, and a Majesty that were inimitable. *Æschines*, when retir'd to *Rhodes*, one day reciting the Oration *Demosthenes* made against him, (B) and being continually interrupted by the acclamations carried in his Accusation, which the intended against *Ctesiphon*, openly attack'd *Demosthenes*, was making the best of his way to *Rhodes*, *Demosthenes* took Horse and pursued his Fugitive Accuser, he observing the pursuit, concluded himself lost and fell flat upon the ground: but *Demosthenes* raised him and forced him to accept of a good sum of Money. The Generosity touch'd him so nearly, that he could not forbear saying. Am I in the wrong for regretting the loss of a Country where I have better Enemies, than I can expect to find Friends in another place? Some Authors Plut. in *Demosth.* & *Rhet.* *Helladius* apud *Phor.* in *Biblioth.* put these words in *Demosthenes's* Mouth.

fo

of his Auditors, *What would you have* Cic 3 deO-
done said he, had you heard him speak rat. Val.
it your self? As to the Organs of Max.
 Speech, *Demosthenes* took all imagi- l. 8. c. 7.
 nable care to make 'em pliant; he
 subjected 'em to that flexibility the
 cadence of periods requires; and to
 sum up all, he omitted nothing that
 was able to correct Nature, or bring
 it to perfection: Sometimes to for-
 tify his Voice, and accustom it to
 the noise of a tumultuary Audience,
 he would declaim upon the Sea-shore,
 and harangue the Waves, a lively Image
 of a Popular Assembly. Sometimes
 that he might the better recollect
 himself, he would withdraw into
 dark Caves, where nothing could
 discompose, or distract him. He
 would very frequently cut off half
 his Beard, and disfigure himself to
 that degree, that he was necessarily
 confined to Solitude for fear of ap-
 pearing Ridiculous. That which
 cost him the greatest pains to Cor-
 rect, was his Shoulders, which he
 was apt to shrug up very disagreea-
 bly in the heat of declaiming. He
 never practised at home, but he had

Cic. 5. de
 Fin. Valer.
 l. 8. Pl.
 Quint.
 l. 10. c. 3.
 Plut. Phot.
 Lyban.
 Suid.

Plut. *ibid.*

Cic. Gusc.

l. 4.

Æil. Var.

Hist. l. 7. c. 7

Steb. Serm.

27

L. c. in En-

com. De-

not. h.

a Naked Sword hanging over him, ready to prick his Shoulders whenever they rose into that ungraceful Posture. These painful exercises were renewed every day with fresh vehemency, and the earliest Tradesmen in the whole City were later up than him. He borrow'd a great deal from his sleep, and spent it in finishing his Orations, which made some pleasant peoplesay, *they smelt of Oyl*. The success answer'd all his Watching, and his Labour. He Consecrated 'em to the good of his Country, and the rest of Greece, whereby he deservedly was called by *Philip*, the only Bulwark of *Athens*: The conjuncture of Affairs then afforded great Matter for the Zeal, and Talents of this Orator. How many differences had he to pacify, Jealousies to suppress, Distrusts to quiet, Grudges to dissipate, Animosities to extinguish, Treasons to unravel, Dangers to prevent, and Damages to repair? What Prudence was there necessary, to manage and apply to the publick good, so many different interests, and opposite designs? That Discord which

which continually held the Greeks upon the very brink of a Rupture, broke out with Violence, upon the occasion of the *Phocians*. These were the Inhabitants of the parts adjacent to the Temple of *Delphos*. They be- thought themselves of Tilling the Land, Dedicated to *Apalla*, which was a Prophanation of it: immedi- ately the People round about cry'd out a Sacrilege; some in good earnest, and others that under the mask of Piety they might wreak their private Revenge. The War that commenc'd hereupon was called Sacred, as be- ing undertaken upon a Religious Mo- tive. The matter was referred to the *Amphictyons*, who compos'd the States General, and who met some- times at *Delphos*, and sometimes at *Thermopylae*. Upon a thorow exami- nation, the *Phocians* were declared Sa- crilegious, and very severely Fined. One of 'em called *Philomelus*, a bold Man, and of great esteem, perswa- ded 'em to disobey this Decree: they took up Arms, assur'd themselves of Assistance from *Athens* and *Sparta*, and propos'd nothing less than to hum-

Diodor.
Pausan. in
Phoc. Ar-
cad. Lacon
& Messen.
Æl. Var.
Hist. l. 9.
Athen. l. 6.

Diod.
Pausan.
ibid.

Brethren
Diod. lib.
Pausan. in
Phoc.

Orat. l. 3.
G. 12.

ble the Pride of the *Thebans*, who appear'd the most violent against 'em. The first advantages they obtained served to encrease their hopes. But in a short time the necessary Funds for the Expences of the War falling short, they supply'd themselves by another Sacrilege. *Philomelus* had so much Religion as not to violate the Temple of *Delphos*. *Onomarchus*, and *Phaillus*, † who Succeeded him in the Command, were not so scrupulous. They took away the Consecrated Vessels, and all the rich Presents, which the Piety of several Kings and Nations had deposited there. The Sums they at several times Raised by this means amounted to above ten thousand Talents; that is to say, to more than six Millions of Gold of our Money. At this rate they found out a means of maintaining the War at the expence of the Divinity they had Offended, and forc'd the *Thebans* at last to throw themselves into *Philip's* Protection. This Prince needed only to appear, to put an end to a War which had lasted ten years, and had equally exhausted both Parties. The

Pho-

Phocians immediately despair'd of making Head against so Powerful an Enemy ; the bravest of 'em obtain'd leave to retire into *Peloponnesus*, the rest Surrendred on Discretion ; and as a reward of a Victory, which cost the Victor only the trouble of appearing, he had, as we have already observ'd, besides the Reputation of a Religious Prince, and faithful Ally, gain'd the Streights of *Thermopylae*, the only Passage out of *Macedon* into *Thessaly*. This was at that time the chief State of Greece, abounding in Republicks, and Dissentions. On one side *Athens*, and *Sparta*, thought of nothing but Mortifying *Thebes*, their Rival. On the other, not only the *Thessalians*, partly to get rid of their Tyrants, and partly to be restored to their Prerogatives of *Amphietyons*, of which they had been divested by the *Phocians*, but also the *Thebans*, that they might secure themselves in the Superiority which the Battels of *Leuctra*, and *Mantineia*, had acquir'd 'em, were entirely devoted to *Philip*, and without intending it, assisted him to forge their own Claims ; Besides, *Philip's*

Orat. ibid.

*Demosthenes
Orat. upon
the Peace.*

Philip's Exploits against *Thrace*, Bordering upon *Macedon*, rais'd every day new Arguments for a War betwixt him and the *Athenians*. This Prince, for the security of his Frontiers earnestly desir'd to encroach upon *Thrace*, and this he could not do but at the Expence of the *Athenians*, who, ever since the Defeat of *Xerxes*, had several Colonies in that Country, besides divers States, Allies, or Tributaries. Neither did he omit any thing that could help him to get *Eubæa* into his Hands, which he called, The Fetters of *Greece*. On the other side, it was the *Athenians* chief Interest not to suffer that Island, which by a Bridge might be joined to the Continent of *Attica*, to fall into the hands of their Enemies. Add to all this, as an aggravation of their Misfortunes, that *Persia*, at that time was not able to assist, as she ought, according to the Rules of right Policy, the weaker side, and thereby preserve an equal Balance, which was her only safety. The Battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, *Platea*, and *Micalæ*, had shown her the vanity of her dependence.

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pendance upon the mighty numbers of her Vessels, and her Troops. She dreaded the Courage of the Grecians; especially since having seen Ten Thousand of their Soldiers †, the Remnant of a defeated Army, traverse the Body of that vast Empire, with the Countenance of Conquerors, and recover their own Country without ever being broken or disordered. She therefore held it as a fundamental Maxim, never to suffer in this respect, the increase of any Power that might give Laws to the rest, and by that means unite the Forces of Europe against Asia. Artaxerxes Oclus * governed himself as long as he was able by this Principle; which, as the Event justified afterwards, might be termed, the Buckler of his Monarchy. He protected the Rhodians, Bizantines, and other Islanders confederated against Athens, and forced the Athenians to own 'em free and independant States. He sent Thebes a supply of Money against the Phocians; and at last, showed a sort of Jealousie of Philip's Proceedings, obliging him in concert with the Athenians,

† The Re- treat of the 10000. Xenoph. They served in Young Cyrus his Army, who was defeated and slain by his Brother Artaxerxes Mne- mon. * Then King of Persia. Isoc. in Orat. Soc. Demosth. de Libert. Rhod. Di- od. L. 16. Corn. N. p. in Chabr.

Diod. De-
most. in
his Oration
upon Phi-
lip's Let-
ter.

Diod. l. 16.
Hoc. in
Panegy.

The first
Year of the
107 O
lymp.

† Plutarch
contradicts
himself in

this Chronological Point; for after having said (in vit. De-
mosthenis) That Demosthenes, at the Age of 27,
entered into the Administration of the State, in the
beginning of the Phocian War; he forgets what he had
advanc'd just before; and assures us, that this Oration
spoke his Oration against Midias at 32 Years of Age,
before ever he had medled with the Government. But
Demosthenes himself decides this Question; in his Oration
for the Crown, he declares positively, That at
the beginning of the Phocian War he was not
concerned in the Affairs of the Republick.

thenians, to raise the Siege of Bizan-
tium, and Perinthus. But while
Macedon was laying the most solid
Foundation of her Greatness, and gi-
ving Greece the Fatal Blow, he was
taken up not only in reducing some
rebellious Nobles, but also in a War
with Egypt and Phenicia: So that his
Troubles at home suffer'd him to
make but slight Observations upon
what was acting abroad. 'Twas
much about these difficult and tem-
pestuous Times, Demosthenes came to
the Helm †. Greece had never till
now lain under such heavy Cala-
mities. Never till now had her Ci-
vil and Bloody Wars threatned her with

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III

so near a ruin. 'Tis true, that heretofore in the course of her Wars, the weak were always sure to side with one of the Parties; but then they who contributed most to the success of the Conqueror, never suffered him to pursue his Advantages too far: So that the Vanquish'd found in his weakness an infallible remedy for his Disgrace. But the Times were altered upon the Fall of *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. For *Thebes*, after the loss of *Epaminondas*, had neither strength enough to keep the balance even between *Macedon* and *Greece*; nor Authority enough to make her self obeyed by the whole Nation. The *Grecians*, naturally turbulent and intractable, follow'd the bent of their own humour; all was full of Quarrels and Divisions: There was no such thing as Deference, or Subordination among 'em; no Common Interest pursued, every Party pretending to the whole: 'Twas almost impossible to reunite, or compose 'em. Their Jealousy degenerated into Hatred, and a sort of Spitefulness; which made 'em insensible of the Common Good.

Demosth. Orat. upon the Peace.

Good of a Nation. That in such a condition it was defended so long against the Attempts and Fortunes of *Philip*, is more wonderful than its being formerly preserv'd from the Invasion of the *Persians*. This appears a Paradox, though it is nothing less.

One might see in the person of *Philip*, a King of almost as great power over his Allies, as his Subjects; and no less formidable in his Treaties, than his Engagements. A Prince vigilant, Active, himself his own Treasurer, his own Minister, his own General: Covetous and thirsty after Glory, seeking it where it was to be bought at the highest Price; delighted in nothing more than Fatigues and Dangers; continually Master of that ready harmony between Counsel and Execution, which is so necessary to all Military Expeditions, and attacking upon so many Advantages, Republicks weakened by their long Wars, rent by their Domestick Divisions, sold by their own Citizens, serv'd by a Foreign Soldiery, averse to wholesome Counsels, and obstinate to their own ruin. On the other hand

Demosth.
Olymp. 3.

hand Darius, † and his Son Xerxes, † Son of Hyftapes. with their Millions of Men, wanted 'tis him Soldiers that were able to face Men Esdras couragious enough to withstand the and Philo call Abaf-

uerus. If Elian (*de Animal. l. 11. c. 27*) may be credited, He undertook this Enterprize to please his Wife Atossa's Fancy, who wanted to be served by Attick and Ionian Women. So true is it that the Noblest Undertakings fall into disgrace, when the real cause of 'em is known. Corn. Nep. (*in Aristid*) assigns a more solid Reason for this Expedition.

first Impressions of Fear. Xerxes was convinc'd of this, when not being able to gain a Pass kept by 300 Lacedemonians, he cry'd out, He had a great many Men, but few Soldiers. Besides, these two Princes were very apt to rely upon their Generals †. They were a long time threatning at a distance, before they struck; spent whole Years in mustering up innumerable Troops, and thereby gave their Enemies all the time they could desire to prepare against 'em. Moreover, a confus'd heap of people, like to

† Dates, and Artaphernes commanded Darius his Army at Marathon; and

Mardonius that of Xerxes at Platea. Corn. Nep. in Miltiad. and Aristid.

Gigantick

Ælian.

Var. Hist.

l. 12. c. 40.

Gigantick Bodies, whose monstrous bulk expose more than defend 'em, must be of a weight almost immovable. This Multitude, overcharged with useless Mouths; fetter'd with the Train the King and his Grandees drew after 'em; commanded by Officers, whose chief Talent lay in despising the Enemies, for want of certain agility, always useful in War, but absolutely necessary in long Expeditions; especially in Greece, a narrow dry Country, in comparison of the Plains of Asia; starv'd, as we said before, and overthrew it self. Greece had not wherewithal to nourish at one time so many Men and Horses; scarce Fountains and Rivers enow to slake their Thirst. To such Enemies she opposed only small Bodies, but such as were all Sinew and Soul. Concord and Unanimity did then so closely cement her Inhabitants together, that they seem'd to compose but one State, and to dwell in but one City. The same Designs, the same Desires; the same Fears; the same Precautions, and the same Designs. Their Cares, Expences, La-

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bors, all conspired to the general
 Good; every one thirsted with de-
 mulation after Glory and Liberty.
Demosthenes found this Ardour ex-
 tremely languid, not to say, extin-
 guished. There was no such thing
 as the Common Cause. Jealousies,
 Distrusts, and Inveterate Animosities
 had so extremely sown'd and aliena-
 ted their Minds, that these different
 Commonalties, though all of the
 same Nation; though in full peace,
 look'd on each other as Enemies, or
 at least as Strangers. Sometimes in-
 deed they laid down their Swords,
 their Quarrels never. Their Animo-
 sity was without Bounds, without
 measure. *Parmenio* reflected upon
 this Intestine War, which had so long
 time kept the *Grecians* in a sort of
 Lethargy, as to their real Interests;
 when observing the Ambassadors of
 all Greece to murmur one day at *Philip*
 for using so late to give them Audi-
 ence, he told 'em; † No wonder, *Gin-* † Another
 he had lain too long a Bed in his Camp, he own'd himself
 a Sluggard, and excused it with an high Complement to his
 Minister: I have been taking a sound Nap, said he, be-
 cause I knew *Antipater* was awake for me.
 tlemen,

The PREFACE.

tlemen, my Master sleeps now while you
 are awake, since he watched while you
 was sleeping. This will appear by the
 pains Demosthenes was at in contriving
 the League between Athens and Thebes,
 even then when their Common Dan-
 ger seemed sufficient to reconcile 'em
 and Philip at their very Doors in-
 formed 'em under what pressing
 Necessities they lay of a strait and
 speedy Confederacy. Pytko, the
 Macedonian Ambassador, an able
 Statesman, great Orator, and one
 who had learnt to lye with a good
 grace for his Master's Interest, so
 far imposed upon the Thebans, as to
 satisfie 'em with Captious Conje-
 ctures, and Frivolous Protestations.
 In comparison of him, Demosthenes
 his Collegues, spoke nonsense, and
 were hardly heard: But when De-
 mosthenes began, he undeceived the
 Stupid Biotians, and made 'em re-
 solve immediately to conclude the
 Alliance he propos'd. Sometime
 after, Demosthenes himself, reduc'd to
 save his own Honour, and defend
 his Benefactor by a particular recital
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The P R E F A C E.

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of his Services, extreamly extolled and placed at the head of his Politic Exploits, the success of this Important Negotiation. Besides this General Division, the Spirit of Discord reigned in every particular Republick; and Avarice so effectually did Philip's Business, that he boasted he had conquered more with his Gold than with his Sword. Sparta only was free from this Contagion. Every where else the Credit of the Mercenary Faction protected the Traitors from the resentment of the Honest Citizens, and the severity of the Laws. As to her Militia, Greece did not stand so much in need of Soldiers as Officers. For at Chere-
nea, where it may be said her Liberty expired, the Commanders * very much contributed to the loss of the Battel. The incapacity of † Chares, that unworthy Successor of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chabrias; but who would have eclips'd 'em all, had he been as just in keeping his Word, as he was confident in giving it, had the largest share in the Misfortunes of that Day. One might at that time have look'd

Orat. de
Coro.

Plut. in
Paul. Æ-
mil.

* Lyficles,
and Cha-
res.

† These are
Chares his
Promises,
became a
Proverb
to signifie
a vain
Promise.

look'd on *Agessilaus* as the last General of *Sparta*; and *Epaminondas* of *Thebes*. But *Athens* was not even then unprovided of good Captains. In *Phocion* she might have had her *Miltiades*, and her *Themistocles*, if her Cabals had not excluded him from the Command, and prefer'd those before him that hadly deserv'd the honour to obey him. After he had defeated *Philip* in *Eubœa*, he was deposed without any other design than to substitute in his room such *a one as *Philip* himself would have desired; whose Conduct, as unfortunate, as it was imprudent, gave *Phocion* a sufficient revenge for the Injustice done him. On the other hand, the *Macedonian Phalanx*, able to have match'd the *Greeks* of *Marathon* and *Salamine*; that new piece of Infantry, the best and most regular that till then had ever been known; fighting in the presence of their King, commanded by old experienc'd Officers, and sustain'd by an extraordinary Cavalry, could easily deal with a parcel of Mercenary Troops ill pay'd. How easy must it therefore be for *Philip* to bring

* *Hegesilaus* Up
in *Orat. de*
fals. leg.

ring Greece under subjection? How difficult for Demosthenes to preserve her from it? who could set a Body so languishing, so crazy into motion. Yet this Body, such as it was, did Demosthenes undertake to reanimate: With this Body he wrestled with Philip, and more than once had like to have flung him. We must own, however, that Greece even in this miserable Condition, had notwithstanding a very powerful Refuge, had she known how to make use of it. *Whoever is Master at Sea, said the Great Pompey, must be so likewise at Land.* Both Greeks and Romans lost their Liberty for want of Understanding, or following this important Maxim. The Athenians by their Naval Forces, infinitely superior to those of Philip, might have prolong'd the War, ha-

† Upon the Peloponnesian War, Pericles in Thucydides (l. i.)

argues always like an able Seaman. If we dwell in an Island, said he, we should be free from Insults. The Marine Forces of Athens (Isoc. in Paneg.) doubled those of the rest of Greece; and every Vessel was able to oppose two of the Enemies; 300 Sail were sent from Athens in the Sicilian Expedition, (Cicer. ver. 5.) Have you not, said Demosthenes, de fals. leg.) 300 Gallies, and a Fund able to equip-

ras'd

ras'd and fatig'd the Enemy by re-
 quent Diversions ; undertaken from
 Descents upon his Coasts ; arm'd and
 supported those who obey'd him with
 an ill will : Have drain'd his Purfes
 disunit'd his Designs ; forc'd him to
 divide his Army : In short, have wait-
 ed for some Favourable Revolution of
 Supplies from *Persia*, as much con-
 cern'd as themselves, to clip the Am-
 bitious Wings of this new Conquer-
 or. As powerful as *Macedon* ap-
 pear'd by Land, it's most certain, he
 might in a moment have lost all his
 Advantages. 'Twas but to have de-
 bauch'd the *Thessalians*, irritated
 the new Form of Government she had
 impos'd upon 'em. In this Case *Philip*,
 after 25 Years Victories and Con-
 quests, would have found himself
 just where he was when he began.
 Without any assurance of the Pass-
 sage of *Thermopylae*, which he call'd
 The Key of *Greece*, and which the
Thessalians had in their hands. His
 Communication with *Argos*, *Messene*,
 and his other Allies in *Peloponnesus* had
 been lost ; every State of *Greece*, vol-
 untarily, or by force, would have
 declar'd

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re declar'd against him, and he have
been obliged to sustain at home, the
War he had carry'd into the heart of
Greece.

But no remains of that Masculine
and Vigorous Policy, that knew equal-
ly how to form Designs, and repair
Losses were now to be found in A-
thens: There was nothing left but an
ill advis'd Haughtiness, subject to e-
vaporate into insolent Decrees. They
were no more those Athenians, who
when threatned with an Inundation
of Barbarians, demolish'd their Houses
to furnish a Navy; and where the Wo-
men stoned a Man to death, who
proposed to appease the great *King,
by paying Tribute, or doing Ho-
mage. The love of Ease and Plea-
sure had almost stifled that of Glory
and Independancy. Pericles, that great
Man, so absolute, that his Enemies
call'd him the Second Pisistratus, was
the first that introduc'd this Remis-
sness and Corruption. He, with a
design of ingratiating himself with
the people, ordain'd, That on the
Days of Feasts and Sacrifices, a cer-
tain Sum of Money should be distri-
(f) buted

Aristo-
phanes
(in his
Clouds)
saith,
They had
nothing of
the Soldi-
er but the
Tongue.
Isoc. (in
his Speech
upon the
Peace)
saith much
the same
thing.
* Lycidas.
Herod.
l. 9.
Plat. in
Peric.

Plut. *ibid.*

buted among them : And that in the
 Assemblies where Matters of State
 were handled , every Private Man
 should receive a certain Fee for his
 Attendance. Thus we see the Mem-
 bers of the Commonwealth brought
 to sell to the Republick the care they
 were to take of her ; and reckon
 among Mercenary Employments the
 most noble Functions of the Sovereign
 Power. It was not difficult to fore-
 see what would be the consequence
 of so Terrible a Disorder. A
 Remedy was pretended to be found
 out for this, by setting apart a Fund
 for the War, with a Prohibition of
 pain of Death, to advise the appli-
 ing it to any other purpose : Not-
 withstanding this, the Abuse con-
 tinued. It appear'd tolerable as long
 as the Citizen , who liv'd upon the
 Publick Liberties , endeavour'd to
 deserve 'em by a constant attendance
 of Nine Months in the Army. Every
 one served in his turn, and he who
 declined his Duty, was most certain-
 ly punish'd as a Deserter. But as
 degrees the number of Offenders
 were too powerful for the Law

and Impunity, as it usually happens, increased the guilty. A people accustomed to a Delightful Residence in a City, among continual Sports and Festivals, conceiv'd an unconquerable aversion to Labour, which they look'd on as unworthy a Free-born People. It was therefore necessary for such an Idle People, to find out somewhat to amuse them, and employ the hours of an unactive idle Life: 'Twas this that wrought in them that Passion, or rather, extravagant Fondness they had for Shows. Epaminondas's Death, which seem'd to promise them great Advantages, compleated their Ruin and Destruction. Their Courage, saith Justin, did not outlive that Illustrious Theban; L. 6. Deliver'd from a Rival that kept their Emulation awake, they fell into a Lethargick Insensibility. The Funds design'd for their Forces by Land and Sea, were consum'd in Sports, and Festivals. The Money due to the Seamen and the Soldiers, distributed among Idle Citizens. A soft Voluptuous Life dispirited their Hearts. Valour, and the Art of War were in no esteem; Their great Commanders discountenanc'd,

(f 2)

Suid. 9
Steph.
129.

countenanc'd, and all their Favours were conferr'd on the best Poets, and the most excellent Actors. Comedy and Tragedy, who owe their Original to two Icarians, *Susarion* and *Thespis*, were born in Greece; and like Fruits natural to their Soil, the People thought they could never be cloy'd with them. This Desire was more general in Athens, than elsewhere; Poets throng'd from all parts to entertain her: There they found a ready Market for their Wares; and according to *Plato*, there was no readier or more certain way to enrich themselves. They kept not within the Bounds of Inoffensive Wit; they grew so licentious as to abuse the Magistrate; and so bold as not to conceal his Name. *Meris* was no more than Greatness, a security from their Satyrs. *Pericles*, that Man so much honour'd, so respected, could not escape those of *Cratinus*, *Eupolis*, and *Teleclides*. But the Condemnation of *Socrates* may be reckoned the Capital Crime of Poetry. *Aristophanes*, by the Arts of Comedy, made him be declared Impious, and as such Condemned to die,

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die, whom *Apollo* by his Oracle at *Delpbos* had declar'd a wise Man; and whose Vertues, tho a Heathen, tempted *Erasmus* to add him to our Litany. This Reputation the Poets were in, was a publick as well as a private Mischief. They had a Principal share in the deliberations of State; and the Talent they had to direct the People gave 'em a power to betray and sell 'em. In this Capacity *Aristoxenus*, and *Neoptolemus* were of great use to *Philip*; and very much weakned the power of *Demosthenes*. Their Advice pleased as well as their Poetry: Perhaps their Works were as much in vogue as those of their Predecessors, who had the pleasure to see their Plays, as soon as represented, learnt and repeated by every one. We read that some *Athenian* Soldiers, who had the fortune to escape the Enemy's hands at the Defeat in *Sicily*, gain'd their Lives by repeating to the *Sicilians* some Verses of *Euripides*. It is not difficult to conceive what a crowd of Spectators throng'd to these Representations. There was nothing spar'd, no-

(f 3.)

thing

Demost.
Orat. upon
the Peace,
and the
4 Phil id.
de fals.
leg. A. se.
de fals.
leg.

Demost.
con. Mid.
& con.
Near. A.
then. 1. 4.

Demost. 2.
Olynth.

thing thought too much to make 'em perfectly Beautiful. Thus the Theatre required exorbitant Sums, which they did not hesitate to assign upon the Fonds appointed for the War. *Eubulus*, one of the principal of the Faction against *Demosthenes*, propos'd this Decree; the People approved the proposal; and like a Mad man, that makes use of his strength only to assault his Physician, and oppose the Remedies prescribed him they made it death for him that should move to restore this Fond to the Necessities of the State, to which it had been before appropriated under the same penalty.

This wild profuseness had strange consequences: There was no way to repair it but by Impositions, which being unequally laid, and arbitrarily rais'd, bred perpetual quarrels, and made the Supplies for War so dilatory, that without lessening any Charge, rendred all Designs fruitless. For the Artisans, and Seamen, who were more than two thirds of the People, contributed nothing to these Taxes, paying only in their attendance

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ance, the whole weight fell consequently on the Rich: These did not fail to complain, and reproach the rest for having consumed the Pulick Treasure in Feasts, in Playes, and such like superfluities. The People, who knew themselves Masters, gave little heed to their Remonstrances; having no inclination to lessen their diversions, to ease those, who (exclusive of the meaner sort) were in possession of all the Honours and Employments. This Unjust, and Tyrannical proceeding slackned the zeal of the best affected to the Publick. Every one thought himself overcharged, and endeavoured to evade the payment; the way to which was by pretending to be poor. The Law it self gave a large scope to vexatious Suits on such occasions. The Citizen who pretended himself Taxed too high, might be relieved, if he informed of another richer than himself. This last had liberty to oppose and offer to change Estates with the Informer, who, in that case, must either pay the Tax, or accept the exchange; these disputes

(f 4)

spent

Xenoph.
Dion. De.
most. 1.
Phil. Istor.
Orat. upon
the Exchange.

spent a great deal of time, which *Philip* knew how to make advantage of. The *Athenian* Army always took the Field too late; and tho they every time found the inconvenience of their backwardness, they would not be corrected by experience it self. Traitors and Flatterers were perpetually crying out, that all *Philip's* designs were only against the *Barbarians*; that he would never try his strength with the *Athenians*, whose Power and Courage he dreaded; that his insatiable Ambition, was, their Security, by the great number of new Enemies it every day created him: That however, with the least effort they could bring him to reason, and that Fortune, their never failing help, would not desert them in time of need. A People already too presumptuous, fed themselves with these vain hopes, and blindly followed these Treacherous Guides, who valued themselves, for having, as they pretended, made their pleasure and repose consist with their Honour and Reputation.

De-

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Demost. alone uncorruptible, and as such, by Philip's own Confession, the only Man who had reason not to fear him, was necessitated to Combat the natural Effeminacy of the Athenians; to surmount haughty mutinous Spirits, and a prejudice fortify'd by evil advice, to contend every day with the domineering Passion of a free People, a crowd of Governors, seduc'd by the flattery of Orators, no less pernicious than that of the most obsequious.

As one was reading to Philip an Oration Demosthenes had spoken against him, at which Parmenio seem'd very much displeased, Let us, said Philip permit this Orator to speak freely against us, since he is not in our Pay, tho I had rather hire him than the best Officer in my Household; for he is the Man that breaks my Designs, and Impeaches all my Undertakings. Lucian in his commendations of Demosthenes.

ous and artful Courtiers. Every hour was he to present the counterpoison, and force his intractable Patience to swallow down his unpleasant Phisick; to venture at odious and disagreeable Predictions; to recall the images of past Dangers and Revolutions; in short, in the midst of a thousand Scoffers, and applauded Opposers, to talk of nothing but Whips and Chains, and whatever else Sla-

(F 5)

very

very has of Melancholy and Frightfulness.

This zeal, in its highest transports was notwithstanding discreet and regular: Man of himself inclin'd to to give a loose, is by Order, curb'd and restrain'd; he that passionately endeavours to reform him, makes him Revolt; and a too obstinate Severity, instead of doing Service to the State, Establishes those Disorders it labours to remove. Hence Cato, who deserv'd a better Age than that wherein he liv'd, Cato, I say, with the best intentions in the World, with an admirable Constancy, and an unshaken Fidelity, rendered his Vertues useless to his Country, and had the misfortune more than once to prejudice the Commonwealth for want of making a just distinction betwixt the easiness of Speculation, and the difficulty of Practice; or to explain my self according to the Oracle of those times, by speaking in the degenerate State of Rome, as if he had lived in the Commonwealth of Plato. Demostb. 'tis true, at first opposes, and openly condemns

all.

*Ille optimo
animo u-
tens, sum-
ma fide
nocet in-
terdum
Reipublica,
dicit enim
tanquam
in Plaut.
πλῆτεια,
non tan-
quam in
fæce Ro-
muli sen-
tentiam
s. l. 2. Ep.
ad Artic.*

The PREFACE.

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all abuses; but when he finds his Re-
proaches cannot reclaim, but exas-
perate them, he turns, and grows
more compliant than that Noble Ro-
man was; he yields somewhat to the
Peoples humour, and prudently con-
nives at what he cannot correct.
The skilful Physician has a regard
to the strength of his Patient, and is
cautious of recurring to violent Re-
medies; he asswages and softens the
sharp Humours, and takes care not
to irritate and provoke 'em: So the
able Politician searches the Wounds
of the State, and cuts not off the
Limb, till he despairs to cure the
Gangrene. This Prudence temper'd
the Severity of our Orator; and those
soothings which that suggested, makes
him seem to differ sometimes in what
he professes to reform: For having
derefted the squandering of those
Fonds, design'd for the War; he
seems after to approve it, when he
says, the Revenues of the State
could not be better employed, than
in supporting the poorer Citizens,
and retrieving them from a Misery,
that was a Dishonour to the Govern-
ment.

Non
est
ban-
dicina
sanare vi-
tiosas
partes Rei-
publice,
quam quod
exsecres,
Cic. ibi.

Hocrates
calls 'm the
common
friends, and
common ene-
mies of
Mankind.

ment. His condescension aim'd only at the Publick Good: He consented to these sorts of distributions, provided the Citizens who were to receive 'em, Lifted themselves by turns in the Army, and the money apply'd to the relief of the Indigent, rather than the maintenance of the Idle. The Republick by this means would gain more than she lost, have an Army on Foot of her own Subjects, and disband all her Foreign Troops; a sort of Soldiers that make a mercenary Trade of Honour, and sell their Friendship, and their Hatred to the highest Bidder.

This just medium which *Demosthenes* observ'd betwixt Rigor and Condescension, gave him among his Citizens, the preference to all his Collegues, and an esteem that was proof against the most unlucky Accidents. This giddy, unferled People, apt to punish their own miscarriages, and negligence in the persons of those, whose projects had certainly succeeded, but for their dilatory execution, Acquitted, and Rewarded *Demosthenes* in the midst of a publick

lick Calamity, and at a time when Demades
the event, by which unsuccessful in Arist.
Councils are always judged, would Rhet. l. 2.
have condemned him. After the loss c. 24. lays
of a Battel ventured upon his word, his accu-
at an instant wherein the whole City sation of
in the greatest Consternation and Demost-
Despair, imagin'd they saw the Con- henes, up-
queror already at their Gates; and on this bot-
the Enemies of this great Man ex- tom.
pected every moment, the enraged That of
People would tear him to pieces. Cheronæa
Demosthenes then saw himself Crow- the third
ned with Honour, and proclaim'd Year of the
Father of his Country. So much did 110th.
the Athenians, convinc'd of his Ca- Olympiad.
pacity, Zeal, and Integrity, ac-
knowledge themselves in fault for
not having sooner, and entirely yiel-
ded to his advice; and confess them-
selves the only Authors of their mis-
fortune. In short, he wanted no
Talent fit for the Government: His
Speeches, and the History of his time
teach us, how far his Sagacity and
his Vigilance extended; how exact
he was in computing the Forces, ei-
ther of his own Country, or those
of his Enemy; how ready in de-
scerning

scerning present conjunctures; how ready in designing precautions; how quick in Inventing redresses; and in a word, how much Master of every thing that makes a perfect Politician. His last attempt to restore the Liberty of Greece, has something more Noble in it than all the rest. 'Twas not then Philip, Conqueror at Cheronæa, before whom all Athens bowed, and to whom all Greece submitted, except the invincible Soul of Demosthenes; but 'twas Alexander, and Alexander already Triumphant in Asia, whom this zealous Republican attempts to drive out of Europe: the Man of whom the World stood in awe, could not silence this Orator. Demosthenes, tho' then an Exile, and unable to act by himself, raises up his Scholar Leosthenes. This last, full of his Master's thoughts, and instructions, drew together the Soldiers Alexander had disbanded, and plac'd himself at their Head. The principal Cities of Greece, enrag'd to see, that in contempt of their Laws, this Monarch was resolv'd to Restore whom they had banish'd, favour'd the Revolt. The Athenians,

Diod. Plut
Suid.

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Italians
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who

who during *Alexander's* Life, fomented it only under hand, after his death, declared themselves openly for it, and sent their Embassadors over all Greece. *Demosthenes*, though an Exile, embrac'd the Cause, and went from City to City, exhorting the People to throw off the Yoak. The Eloquence of such an Agent had its Effect. The *Aetolians*, *Thessalians*, *Phocians*, *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, the People of *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Sicyon*, together with several others, embrac'd the Cause, and chose *Leosthenes* General of the Confederacy. This General a Man of Sense, and Courage, defeated the Enemy, and seizes upon the Streights of *Thermopylae*; thence he advanc'd into *Thessaly*, Defeated *Antipater*, Viceroy of *Macedonia* † and beseiges him in *Lamia*, which he had taken, had he not been unfortunately killed by a Stone as he was visiting the Works, and thereby overthrew all the hopes of the Allies. After this, *Antipater* made an easie Market of the *Graecians*, every one strove who should first prevent his Anger, by a ready Submission;

† *Alexander* had left him there with 12000 Foot, and 2500 Horse. *Plut. in Alex. Strab. l. 15. Zon. l. 1.*

Diod. Plut. Suid. Antisthenes Succeeded Leosthenes a brave Man, and a great General.

When Alexander declar'd he would never pardon the Athenians, unless Demosthenes, & ten other of their Citizens were deliver'd up to him. Demosthenes sold'em very coolly that once upon a

time the Wolves had a mind to make a Peace with the Sheep provided they deliver'd up to 'em the Shepherd's Dog.

(1) In Trezenio sinu est insula inter ignobiles insulae letho Demosthenis nobilis. Pomp. Mela. l. 2. c. 7. Strab. l. 10. Pausan. in Att. & Cor.

† He always carry'd Poison in his quill, to make use of upon occasion.

mission; but to the *Athenians* he deny'd any Peace, unless they would deliver up ten of their Orators he should choose, among which he was sure not to forget *Demosthenes*. He, whom his Countrymen had in the like case deny'd upon the most vehement Threats of *Alexander*, * found not in them now the same disposition, and therefore resolv'd to spare them the Dishonour of that Baseness. He escap'd into (1) *Calabria*, an obscure Island till it was honour'd by his Death, and fled for Refuge into the Temple of *Neptune*. There encompass'd by *Antipater's* Guards, who pressed him to trust to their Master's Clemency, It shall never be said, reply'd he, that I owe any thing to the Tyant of my Country; and immediately drank poison, more pleasant, as † he thought, than Servitude.

Thus

(a) Thus dy'd Demosthenes at 60 years of age, whose Memory the Athenians Honoured with a Statue, with Inscriptions, and divers Priviledges granted to his Posterity, and by a thousand other marks of a useless acknowledgement, little better than Ingratitude, for the more they express'd their Sorrow for losing him, the more they confess'd their fault in suffering him to be lost.

Demosthenes felt the Poison work, he said to Archias, Captain of Antipater's Guards, Thou mayst carry my Corps to thy Master, but as for Demosthenes, he is out of thy reach. † Plut. & Suid.

(a) The same year with Aristotle his Elder by three years, the 3d. year of the 114th. Olympiad. Lucian (in Land. Demosth.)

tells us that as soon as

We have sufficiently consider'd him as a Citizen, and a Statesman, let us now examine him as an Orator. Few are ignorant to what an height he carry'd the power of Speaking: His Eloquence rais'd him a sort of Throne, and in him fix'd the Hearts of a Republick, whose inconstancy made her call'd a Prostitute; and wherein an eminent Vertue, though modest; a conspicuous Merit, though useful, were look'd on as Crimes of State. The Sirname of Just, Fortu-

Corn Nep
nate, in Arist.

nate, or Invincible, given to a Private person, offended these Jealous Suspicious Spirits. They never pardon'd him, who served them with Virtues that made him worthy to Command: They often deprived themselves of real Advantages, to shun an imagin'd Evil.

* Sentence, by which those whose greatness grew suspected to the Athenians, stood banished for Ten Years.

Miltiades, and his Son *Cimon*, submitted to Judgments, that were most dishonourable to their Judges. The Rigour of the *Ostracism* * was seldom put in execution, but out of a Caprice. This sort of Exile seem'd design'd rather to quiet the diffident and malicious, than to punish the guilty. There can hardly be any other reason given, why *Themistocles*, *Conon*, *Timotheus*, *Iphicrates* and † *Chabrias* chose to reside in Foreign Parts. To say nothing of *Alcibiades*; who though a Disciple of *Socrates*, was very unwor-

† *Chabrias* as *quod ei licebat plurimum aberat*. *Neque vero solus ille aberat Atheni- litenter, sed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem, quod tantum se ab invidia putabant absuturos, quantum à conspectu suorum recessissent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thracia, Themistocles Lebi, &c. Corn. Nep. in Chab.*

Neque vero solus ille aberat Atheni- litenter, sed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem, quod tantum se ab invidia putabant absuturos, quantum à conspectu suorum recessissent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thracia, Themistocles Lebi, &c. Corn. Nep. in Chab.

thy

thy so great a Master: Nor were they in the wrong when they banish'd him, of whom *Timon* the Man-hater said; *I love nothing so much as Alcibiades; for I know no Athenian more fit to set Athens in a combustion.* But for one just Sentence, or well founded Suspicion, there were a thousand unjust, and on groundless Conjectures: Upon these frequent Ostracisms, a King of *Persia* * said, *I pray the Gods to make my Enemies continually send me their Heroes, and adorn my Court with these illustrious unfortunate Persons.* They knew well how to fawn on them in time of need; and to employ them in case of danger: But scarce had they saved the State, when they were treated as dangerous themselves, or at least useless. This base Proceeding, (which is but too much perpetrated, to the dishonour of Mankind) so touched *Themistocles*, that in the heat of a Just and Generous Resentment, to see himself totally laid aside after the Peace; he could not forbear comparing himself to those great Trees in open Campaign, which are only then minded, when People have occasion

* *Artaxerxes Longimanus.*

Æil. Var.
Hist. l. 6.
c. 19.

* The 2d
Year of the
113 O-

lymp. 3 Years before Alexander his death; Demosthenes was accused for having betrayed his Trust in the behalf of our Harpalus, whom Alexander upon his Indian Expedition left Governor of Babylon; and who afterwards being convicted of several Misdemeanors, fled to Athens for refuge; from whence Olymptias and Antipater demanded him, Phot. in Demosth. & Hyper.

occasion to fly to them for shelter against a Storm. The Orators lived still in a more terrible Subjection; they had almost as many Masters as Athens had Citizens. This Diogenes objected very pleasantly to Demosthenes, who refused to dine with him in a very poor Eating-house; *Why are you so nice,* said the Cynic, *you scorn to be seen with me in a place where some of your Masters are to be found every hour in the day.* And yet these Masters, whatever Diogenes says, suffered themselves to be governed by Demosthenes. The High Opinion they had of him kept 'em in order: Nor were they prevail'd upon to banish him, but in a time full of trouble and confusion. Envy her self, that never ceases to persecute Vertue, repented her having once attack'd a man so necessary; who in his Exile sought

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The P R E F A C E.

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no other Revenge but that of new Services ; and apply'd himself continually to save his Ungrateful Countrymen. Excepting this only Instance, he was the constant Oracle of Athens. She had no other Will but his ; he perswaded and dissuaded with an equal facility. He managed these intractable Spirits ; and as it were by enchantment, turn'd 'em which way he pleas'd. Not that in his Discourses he affected always to be admir'd, to heap together abundance of Figures, to make fine Periods, or seek far fetch'd Thoughts ; to use extravagant and unnatural Expressions, such as might deserve the Name of Monstrous ; which *Aechines* gave them, not out of Judgment, but personal quarrel and envy, being Rivals in the Profession. This was not the Language of *Demosthenes* ; he first thinks, and then arises to a sort of Inspiration : The fire of his Imagination, and heighth of his Genius despi- ses Elegancy of Style. An Energy of Thought peculiar to himself, makes his Character, and sets him above all others. His Discourse is a Series of Inducti-

Cont. Cte.
siph.

Dionys.
Halicarn.
in Isæo.
Liban. in
Demosth.
Plut. Said.
Phot.

Inductions, Consequences, and Demonstrations form'd by Common Sense. His reasoning, whose force continually augments, mounts by degrees, and with speed gains the Point he drives at. He scorns to creep into the Minds of his Auditors; he attacks 'em openly, presses them home, and at last forces them to yield. But in this his Auditor is so far from being asham'd of his defeat, that he finds a pleasure in giving way to Reason. *Isocrates, saith Philip, fences with a Foil; but Demosthenes fights with a Sword.* I had almost said, He knocks us down with a Club. One may make some answer to other Orators, but none to him. He lays down such Rules, such Principles, that their evidence strikes with equal certainty upon all men. He builds upon simple and natural Ideas which have only the power to persuade and convince. For that Persuasion that arises from the regard we have to the Thoughts of other men, only glances upon the Mind; but that inward Conviction which is framed from the Sentiments arising in our selves,

Demosthenes, takes an absolute possession of
 the Soul. As soon as the Auditor finds
 his own Reflections the same with
 those of the Orators ; when he con-
 ceives, thinks, and judges like him, he
 can no longer refuse his attention,
 nor his assent. Now 'twas natural
 for those who heard *Demosthenes*, to
 find themselves thus disposed. Full
 of those free and generous Inclinati-
 ons which bear up the Mind against
 the Corruptions of the Times, and
 will not allow her to suffer them :
 He boldly gives the wisest Counsel,
 with an assurance, which false Ver-
 tue could not imitate. One might
 discern the man who had no other
 Enemies but those of the State ; no
 other Passion, but Love for Order, and
 Justice ; who pretended not to impose,
 but instruct ; was not desirous to
 please, but to do service ; seeks no
 Ornaments, but what arise naturally
 from his Subject ; nor uses any Flow-
 ers, but those he meets with in his
 way. But one may say, he aims at
 nothing but to be understood ; and
 that without design, he makes himself
 admired. Not that he was void of
 Beauties,

Beauties, but they were severe, agreeable to that plainness and freedom he profess'd. In him Truth appears without Paint; he scorns to render her effeminate, on pretence to make her beautiful; nor allows of those Arts that would disguise her, that she may not be frightful. He never dissembles, but to conceal his own Vertues and Services; and that without Ostentation, or Reflection. He neither makes show of, nor has regard to himself: He only regards and makes appear the Business in hand; and that Business is always either the safety or advantage of his Countrey. In the second Period, and very often in the first, he enters upon the Matter, and points out the only difficulty. He leaves to Vulgar Orators their Exordiums, and their Preambles. He supposes you to look into his Soul; and holds it needless to beg for your good will; which an honest Man thinks he deserves, and may be sure of: This uprightness and sincerity of Intention, fills him with a noble confidence, and makes him speak to his Masters, not so much

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with the Liberty of one Friend to another, as with the Authority of a Father to his Children. On the other side, the Method he proposes himself, restrains and confines him to a very narrow compass, and obliges him to turn perpetually within the Compass of a few Customs and Accidents. He is no declaimer, who diverts himself at random, on imagined Subjects; nor according to the false reproach of his Enemies, is more concern'd for the cadence of a Period, than the Fall of a Republick: But a true Orator, whose indefatigable Zeal is ever employ'd to awaken the Lethargick, confirm the Fearful, terrify the Presumptuous, rouse the Voluptuous, who would neither serve their Country, nor pay those that do. In fine; to new mould a people, who made no other use of their Liberty, and their Power, but to free themselves from all the restraints of Reason. Those Abuses that afford Pleasure instead of Labour, meet with powerful Protectors; especially in a State where every particular person has a share in the Supreme Authority; and where

Æsch. com.
Celf.

(g)

often

Plat. in
the Apol.
for Socr.

It was to
be proposed
in Writing.

(1) At
Cheronæa
the Third
Year of
the 110 O-
lymp.
(2) Euseb.
con. Cae-
siph.

often the people, only to shew that they may do what they please; will not be persuaded to do what they ought. That of Athens, especially, did but ill practise the Excellent Precept of one of her Wise Men; That the readiest and surest way to get rid of Censures, is to correct our selves.

Whoever should propose the repealing of a Law that was pleasing, tho never so destructive, ran the hazard of a Capital Punishment. If any Man could not with patience behold the Fall and Ruin of his Country, but had the Courage to endeavour to prevent it, death was usually the reward of the best Council, and the most worthy Action. Thus the most Fatal Disorders in Peace, acquired Authority by time, which gains no less respect to Ill Customs than to good. And what Reformation must it be, that a man shall love Better than his Life? Let his Enemies therefore upbraid Demosthenes as much as they please, for having taken the Alarm, and thrown away his Arms upon a Defeat (1); he confesses it himself (2), and therefore I acquit and esteem

esteem him. For if I may be allow'd to give my Opinion in matters out of my Sphere, I should say; that next to Valour it self, I know nothing more brave, than to acknowledge ones Weakness. Besides, to reason truly upon this occasion; that Courage it self, as well as success, is not always in our power: Or rather, that there are several sorts of Valour, which seldom meet in the same person. 'Tis not every man who runs to Death, that has courage to wait the stroke. One that is fired, and expects himself in a Battel, turns pale away upon an Assault: Another who charges bravely at the head of a Troop, and is the first in an Encounter, is backward at proposing a single Combat. The disproportion appears still greater between the Dangers of the War, and those of the Pulpit. And yet if they equally expose their Lives, they certainly are Masters of equal Courage. We ought therefore in justice to compensate the Flight of *Demosthenes*, once drawn on by the Crowd of those who fled also; with the Constancy of the same *Demosthenes*,

* Aristophanes by this Liberty, which appeared something bold, attained the highest honour a Citizen was capable of, viz. a Crown of the Consecrated Olive, preserv'd in the Citadel.

so often unmoved in the midst of a Tumultuous Populace, ready to tear him in pieces. For the Days were past, wherein the readiest way to gain their Love, was to reprove their Faults; and in which they gave a Crown to him, who had the courage to tell them, That they reasoned like Children; that Success did sometimes attend their Resolutions, only because the Gods delighted in doing Wonders; but at length the same Gods would grow weary of protecting Fools. Their Folly increas'd daily, while the sense of bearing Reproof diminished: At last they had no relish but for Declaimers, who debased themselves to the meanest Compliances: No Ears, but for a sort of Cowardly Talkers; who stood in awe of a Multitude; ever humourfome; often outrageous; and who, according to Socrates, revered in general what they despised in particulars. In a Word; upon Points most important to the safety of the State, it was absolutely necessary, either to hazard ones Life, or to hold ones Tongue.

The

The Courage wherewith *Demosthenes* braved the Madness of the People, does not more raise my wonder and esteem, than his constancy to reject the Flatteries of Eloquence, for the good of those, who had the fortune to hear him: Much less an Orator than Patriot; he never ceases to combat the Abuses in fashion. He pursues the Traitors without Intermission; exposes their Crimes; lays open their Designs; inveighs against the Deluders of the People, those Common Plagues of all Ages and Nations, whom he would entirely destroy. Fired with this only Aim, he resolves to conquer the most obstinate, pursues them with resistless Arms, and strokes of sure success. To speak without Figures, he uttered the most distastful Truths; and lest they should not make their impression, he often employs, and sometimes repeats word for word, the same Reasons and Examples he had found most moving and persuasive. This Repetition imprints and ingraves what the first delivery had only traced out; with this intent he renews, inculcates, estab-

(g. 3) blishes,

blishes, and quits the Charms of variety for the advantages of persuasion. One cannot discern the necessity of these repetitions, unless one imagine himself in the place of those, to whom they were at first address'd; and therefore, I fear, unless one could transport one self to *Athens*, it will not be easie to discern the natural Beauties I have endeavour'd to delineate: To this end, one ought to think and act like the *Athenians* of that Time; to adopt their Sentiments, and their Inclinations; to espouse their Interests, their Quarrels, their Jealousies, their Hopes, and their Fears. Without this, *Demosthenes* will not find in us his first Auditors. But how can we so put off our selves, as to believe in good earnest, we are running the same dangers, and that we have no greater Enemy than *Philip* of *Macedon*? The Mind can never be so imposed on; nor can Fiction, however we yield to it, move so much as Reality. Whilst a Stranger speaks to us in our own Tongue, and says nothing but what is suitable to our own Customs, and our Manners,

he insinuates himself easily into our Minds ; we readily naturalize him, and make his Sentiments our own. But on the contrary , if instead of coming to us, we must pass over to him ; when he leads us from home and entertains us with Manners, to which we are Strangers ; sets before us Customs of Ancient Usages, and remote Parts ; if he descends into Particularities , from whence he draws Conjectures and Consequences, in which the present *Athenians* would have no concern ; whatever Tongue he speaks, he wearies and tires us ; and wherever the want of understanding lies, we are forward to dislike what we do not easily understand.

I know there is an other sort of Readers, who are apt to judge of an Army by the number of men only ; and consequently, ready to despise an History that presents ^{end} with but little Subjects, and wherein the greatest strength of Policy, and moving Efforts of Eloquence are employ'd only to bring into the Field about 3 or 4000 Soldiers. But that which

disfists them, ought rather to raise their Curiosity, and increase their Admiration. Are great Revolutions nothing, because a few hands have brought them to effect? Has the Glory of the Art of War increas'd with the Multitude of Warriors that share in the Success? The *Grecians* were of another Opinion; they valued not the advantage of Numbers, nor Envy'd the Barbarous Nations that vanity, but upon good experience, despised them as no sufficient ballance against Valour.

Notwithstanding all this, into whatsoever hands *Demosthenes* shall fall, that diversity of Judgments (which cannot be avoided while only Men are Judges) will not take from him that precedency among Orators which the most Judicious of all Antiquity have unanimously given him, and which he has peaceably possess'd for so many Ages. He has a right of Prescription against Censure and Malice.

† c 28.

Longinus † says, that *Demosthenes* having united in himself all the qualities of an Orator, born

to the Sublime, and compleated by Just. Orat.
Study, does eclipse all that ever pre- l. 10.
tended to Oratory, and leaves them
as it were amazed and confounded
with Thunder and Lightning. *Quintilian*
indeed opposes *Cicero* to all Greece,
and says, that this last has united in
himself the abundance of *Plato*, the
vehemence of *Demosthenes*, and the
beautys of *Isocrates*; that Nature
seem'd to design him to shew how
far the Wit of Man could reach, and
that the name of *Cicero* is less the
name of an Eloquent Person than of
Eloquence it self. Commendations
enow to let us know, that if
Quintilian durst speak out, and could
have set the Rule, he would have
degraded the *Grecian* Orator in fa-
vour of the *Roman*; But the *Roman*
himself had before rectifi'd his too par-
tial Judgment. For having owned in
Demosthenes the insinuating delicacy
of *Lysias*, the fine and artful Wit of
Hyperides, the Softness and Elegancy
of *Æschines*, he acknowledges him-
self inferiour to him, and plainly
declares to his friend *Brutus*; You see,
and no one can deny, *Demosthenes* fi-
nishes the same things we endeavour at,

Nihil Ly-
siæ subtili-
tate cedit,
nihil argu-
entis & ac-
umine Hyp-
eridi na-
litate
Æschini u-
bi splende-
re verbo-
rum Cic-
ero

(g. 5)

*Udes pro-
fecto illum
multa per-
ficere, nos
multa co-
nari; illum
passe, nos
velle. Cic.
ibid.*

and in all sorts of Eloquence, he has fully succeeded in that which we attempt to compass. But it may be said, that upon these humble expressions, which a Man usually disavows in his heart, I have taken *Cicero* too strictly at his word, and made a wrong use of the Judgment he gave in his own Cause. This I will allow, but it must be owned too, that he carry'd his Modesty to Excess, and then we may make a great allowance for the vast distance he places between the Orators of *Rome*, and those of *Athens*. In the mean time, if we examine nearly into the force of the expression, in which this modest confession is cloath'd, we shall easily dive into the bottom of his thoughts, and through the Hyperbole discern what might be said out of Sincerity, and what out of Decency; and the rather because *Cicero* justifies what he says by what he does, and thinks it an honour to give the Title of *Philippicks* to the last, and most valued of his Orations; wherein he thought he had most exactly Copy'd that Original. This choice proves the singular esteem he had for the *Philippicks*;

picks; and indeed he distinguishes
 'em by the greatest of all Characters,
 Strength and Majesty. Whatever
 variety there is in the Orations upon
 the false Embassy, or in defence of *Philippi*]
 his being Crown'd; whatever po-
 liteness in that against *Leptinus*, the
Philippicks must excell them, tho' it
 were only for the Subject, which give
 to *Demosthenes* so fair an Occasion to
 employ his true Genius, and princi-
 pal Talent, I mean, with *Longi-*
nus, that of moving Passion, and
 raising Admiration. The Discourse
 ought to bear a proportion to the
 Subject; great Expressions, and live-
 ly Figures make a strange discord,
 if not answerable to the matter. Now
 the pathetick, in which *Demosthenes*
 excells, and triumphs, his frequent In-
 terrogations, and Apostrophes, with
 which he roused the Sluggish *Athe-*
nians; where could they be better
 employed, than in the *Philippicks*?
 On other occasions, when he oppo-
 ses the new Law of *Leptinus*; when
 he accuses *Æschines* for betraying the
 State in his Embassy; when he de-
 fends *Ctesiphon*, for having decreed
 him the Crown; he comes near to
 the

cas De-
mosthenis
eisdem qui-
bus habitas
in iudiciis
orationes
video emi-
nere virtu-
tibus. Qu.
Instit. Orat.
 I 3.

the diffuse style of *Tully*, and then seems like a vast Conflagration, that devours and consumes all it meets with, spreads, and increases as it goes on. But when he only aims at the preservation of the Commonwealth, threatned with the last of Miseries; when he opposes Foreign and Domestic Enemies, 'tis there his heat and vehemence takes full career; then truly like Hurricanes, Tempest, or Thunder, he tears up, and resists, bears down all before him. I will no longer treat of the difference and agreement there is between *Cicero*, and *Demosthenes*, nor do I think it convenient to collect what would cost me no more than the pains of Transcribing; much less will I re-touch those Descriptions, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, and *Longinus* have finished. This last hath drawn from the *Philippicks*, several examples of the Sublime, and has discover'd in 'em a thousand secret Beauties, which still delight more as he proceeds in the discovery. The occasions I have had to Imitate *Longinus*, have not prevailed with me to encroach upon him. And if I chance.

chance to make some observations upon
 on the Text, 'tis not so much with de-
 sign to conduct the Reader to the end,
 as to set me in the way: I shall need
 but little pains to justify my self for
 not agreeing with *Dionysius Halycar-*
nassens, who reckons the Oration up-
 on the *Haloneſe* among the *Philip-*
picks, and makes it the eighth in Or-
 der. I know the weight of this
 Learned Critick's Authority: The
 Force however, and the Majesty,
 which *Cicero* gives as peculiar to the
Philippicks, * excludes that Oration
 out of the number, and authorises
 the almost concurring Opinions of
 Learned Men, who reject it as sup-
 posititious. *Libanius*, *Phocius*, with se-
 veral others, and what is more, the
 meanest of the Style, and lowness of
 expression that appear throughout the
 whole Oration shew it to be made
 by *Hegesippus*; I can never, for Ex-
 ample, believe that *Demosthenes* could
 in any case think or say, * A Man that
 acts at this rate must have his Brains in
 his Heels: Not but that *Demosthenes* did
 sometimes Nod, as well as *Homer*. He
 might slumber 'tis true, but never sleep,
 and dream at that rate. A Genius tho'
 never

Ep. ad Am.

* Multa

sunt ejus to-

ta oratio-

nes subriles,

ut contra-

Leptinem

multa &

tota gra-

ves, ut qua-

dam Phi-

lippicæ:

multa va-

ria, ut con-

tra Æschia-

nem; falsa

legationis,

ut contra

eundem pro

causa Cre-

siphontis.

Cic. ibid.

* In the Pe-

roration.

Et Cice-

roni dor-

mitare De-

mosth. &

Homerus

Horat. vifi.

Quint. l. 1.

c. 10. Plut.

in Cic.

*Cic. in O-
rat. saith
Ipse De-
mosth. qui
quanquam
unus eminet
inter omnes
in omni ge-
nere dicen-
di non ta-
men semper
implet au-
res meas,
ita sunt a-
vida, &
capaces, &
semper ali-
quid im-
mensum in-
fructumque
desiderant.*

never so elevated, is still ally'd to Humanity. Great Men are great, 'tis true, but they are Men still: They may slip, but they are seldom seen to fall. Every thing, even their very negligences, have an Air of their Character; I'm affraid mine will but too much appear in this Translation. For I do'nt presume so much upon my self as to arrogate the Title of a good Interpreter; I only pretend I have done my utmost to deserve it. I have had my work view'd, and review'd by the best Judges, whose sincere Criticisms upon some places have almost perswaded me that they truly approv'd the rest. All this can't hinder me from being sensible that several faults have undoubtedly escap'd me. They would have been less minded in a dead Language. The Latin Translator, whenever he meets with a difficulty, securely overlooks it. If he can't unfold, he evades it, and wraps up his Ænigmas in expressions, that have more of sound than sense. The Reader however pays his Defe-
rence to the obscurity, and pardons the want of understanding, where
he

he thinks himself at least partly in fault. This holds not in a living Language. The Translator is oblig'd at his peril to leave no room for a conjecture, but must make himself easily understood; he is continually exposed to a comparison, wherein of necessity he must be the sufferer. Every one takes himself to be a competent Judge; ever Reader determines, decides, and thinks he has right to attribute to the Original whatever is good, whatever is excellent, and lay at the Translator's door all that is bad, or indifferent. Thus a Translator has a very hard game, and runs, if I may so say, the danger of a Rope-dancer, whose activity, tho never so extraordinary, is but little valued; the least false step he makes may cost him his life. Add to all these Difficulties the Misfortune I have to meet in my way one of our accomplished Writers; far be it from me to pretend to dispute the pre-
cedency with him. I ingenuously confess his Translation of the four *Philippicks* would have made me desist, but for the positive assurances I had, he intended to go no further. I can't
tell

tell what 'twas made me oppose so many Reasons joyn'd together. The Infinite Examples of so many Learned Men, that resisted the Temptation of doing what I have undertaken, gave me a Lesson, of which I stood more in need than any Man. But from a long conversation with an *Athenian*, so zealous in the smallest concerns of his Country, I devoted my self to the Publick, and undertook to serve my Country, even at the hazard of displeasing it.

* In this Case more especially, we may say with the *Italians* Traduttore Traduttore.

† Cic de Opt. gen. Orat.

As for the liberty I have taken not to betray my Author by too verbal a Translation, * I am sure *Cicero* has shewn me the way, tho' I can't pretend to have follow'd it so exactly. I have, said he, † Translated into Latin, the Orations of those two Great Orators, *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*, which they spoke one against the other; and I have translated 'em not with the scrupulousness of a Translator, but with the freedom of an Orator. I have undertaken to Transcribe in the Copy the *Idea's*, *Figures*, and *Periods* of the Original; As to the Expressions, in which their Thoughts were cleatb'd I accommodated 'em to our usage: So without being ty'd to the Laws of

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of a *Literal Translation*, I have given each expression an equivalent, either in regard of the propriety, or energy of it. * For I thought it was expected from me by my Reader, that I should not so much number the words, as weigh 'em. † A good Translator, says *Seneca*, doth not speak *Greek* in the *Latin Tongue*, nor is he more solicitous of being Faithful than Intelligible. He is full of his Author, but not beside himself, in some measure he makes what he borrows his own, and does not follow so exactly the words of the Text, as to lose the sense of the Author, and in a word, obedient to the sense, he masters the Expression so effectually, that the thoughts he has from a foreign Language seem born with that into which he has Transplanted 'em.

This Liberty, authoris'd by such Examples, may be acceptable to those whose impatience can't endure such broken and imperfect sentences as we often find in *Demosthenes*; They are opposite to our Customs, and disagreeable to our Humours. He who demands of us too much attention, is like to meet with none at all. A

French

* Non enim ea me annu-
merare Lectori pu-
tavi oportere, sed tan-
quam ap-
pendere.
† Hanc sta-
bilem ani-
mi sedem,
Græci, ἐν-
θύσιαν
vocant,
ergo tran-
qui litas-
tem voco.
Nec enim
imitari &
transferri
verba ad
illorum for-
mam neces-
se est, res ip-
sa, de qua
agitur, ali-
quo signan-
da nomine
est, quod
appellatio-
nis Græce
vim debet
habere non
faciem. Sen
de tran. an.

French Man is as much in haste in his Reading as in other Actions. *Demo-*
† Lucian *sthenes* sometimes opposes this lively
 against the Impetuosity. He had form'd his Style
 ignorant by that of *Thucydides*. whom he con-
 Fire of his Beautiful continually Read, and Transcrib'd eight
 Library, A times with his own hands. † So
 gathias. 12 that in the Orator we frequently
 Arsenius, meet with the Historian. Their Style,
 Bishop of Nervous but concise, and close,
 Monem- leaves a great deal to be understood;
 busia, tells us that is, it depended a great deal up-
 in his Greek on others, and expected from 'em
 Apotheg- more than they were able to afford.
 mes, that But now a Writer may do well to
 a fire ha- having taken
 ving taken hold of the
 bold of the Athenian
 Library, & consumed
 the Works of *Thucy-*
 dides, they were not to
 be found, but in *De-*
 mosthenes his memory
 who had 'em by
 heart, and took care to
 see them transcrib'd. *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians* were of

a quite different taste. They pretended to understand an Orator in half a word, and thought the quickness of their own Wit gave them a right to partake in the Invention, Lively, Penetrating, lovers of Sense, not exprest, but understood, they went before his thoughts, and had scarce patience to stay for his words. *Phocian*, who could with reason overturn, and destroy the most elevated Eloquence, and who upon that account was call'd by *Demosthenes*, *The Ax of his Thoughts*: *Phocion*, I say, appearing one day very thoughtful in an Assembly, and being ask'd the cause: *I am contriving*, said he, *how to cut off something of what I have to say, that I may thereby gain a more favourable audience.* The natural Fire of our Orator hit their Humour exactly; he flies hastily from one Proof to another. The vivacity of his motions hurries him on, and rarely suffers him to observe any Uniformity. He neglects those Coherences, which we think necessary for the Thread of a Discourse, and which he never fails to supply by the change of his Voice, or his Gesture. An Auditor understands what is spoketo him
only

* *Est etiam quadam in ejusmodi rebus rebus fortuna; quidam merentur famans quidem habent. Sen.*

only by halves, and very often what is never mention'd to him at all. The Head, the Eye, the Arm, the Countenance, the Tone, nay Silence it self speaks in a man that is declaiming; and the swiftness of Pronunciation unites and cements what appears too remote and disjointed in the reading. But for a Man to sit down coolly, now, and read Speeches utter'd 2000 Years agoe, before persons to him unknown, upon Subjects in which he has not the least concern, his feeble Curiosity is easily satisfy'd; and if he looks backward into the Recesses of Antiquity, he presently grows faint and disheartned, if he does not meet with a place, where he may rest and take breath. The Litteral Sense meets with no assistance or encouragement. Nothing is minded or esteem'd but a coherent Reasoning, and without considering how little Writing can imitate Speaking, it is expected that the Image of Speech should act as much upon the Mind, as Speech it self. I made it therefore my business to find out what Means were proper to restore to these inanimated Discourses

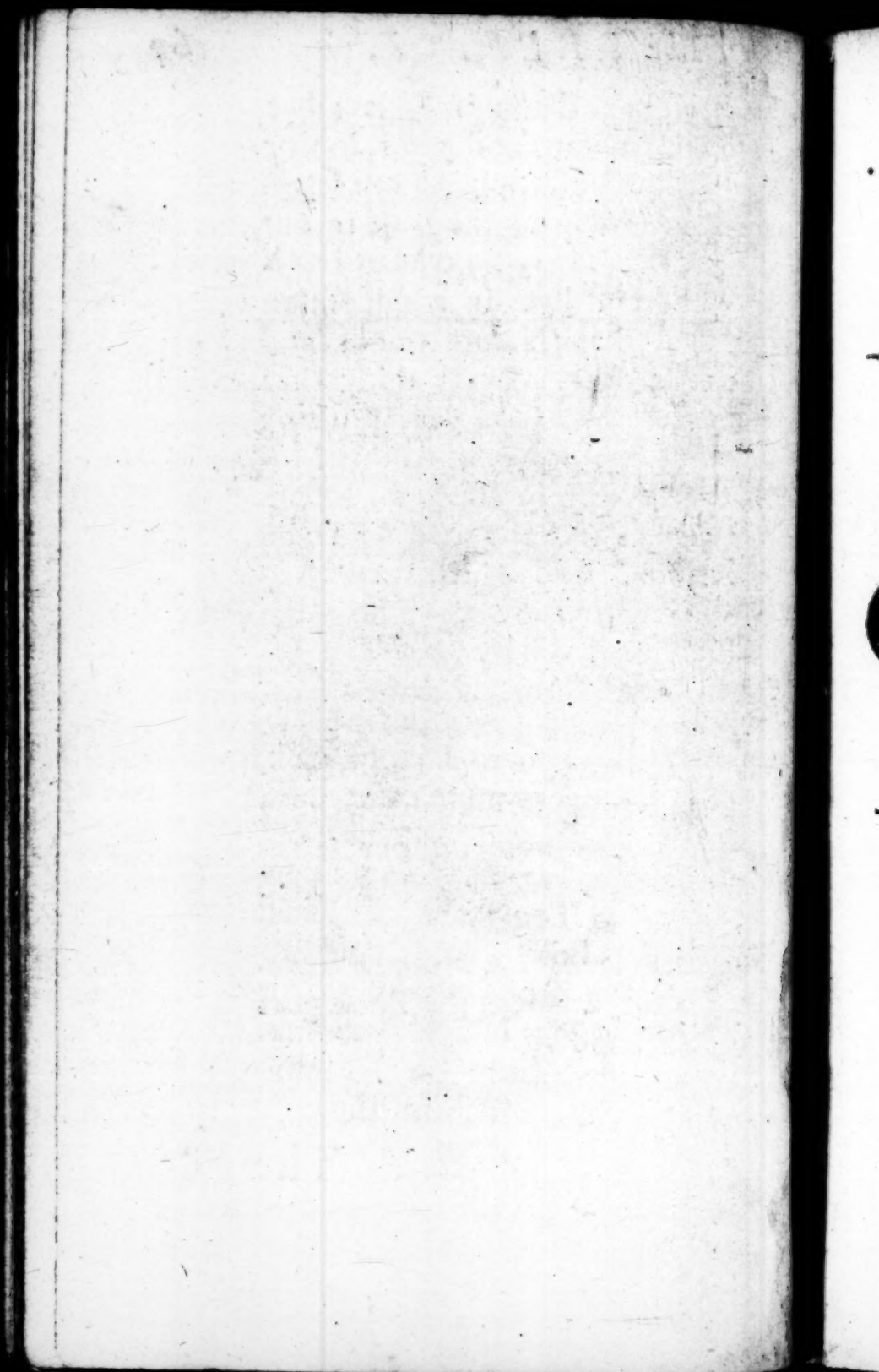
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courses a part of their Soul, and re-
kindle the Fire that lay half extinct;
how to make a compensation for the
action, and what sort of action; how
to extend his Noble, and Sublime
thoughts, without lessening, or weak-
ning 'em; not to diminish their force
to render them more perspicuous, to
make the Text intelligible, when ob-
scur'd by difficult Allusions; to clear
up dark places, without raising new
doubts; to make advantage of the
true sense, and not seek false expli-
cations; keep the Beauties of it, to
assist the Reader's understanding and
not mistrust his Judgment; to help
his weakness, and not offend his
Pride; to keep the Original always
in view, and yet sometimes vary
from it; to Copy faithfully without
appearing only to make a Copy, and
under an appearing Servitude to reach
the Beauties of a free Imagination:
Above all this, to Reconcile the Ge-
nius of my Author to that of my
Country, and Language; In a word,
to undertake to please People of in-
different thoughts, and who for the
most part, never agree but in a desire
to

to condemn. There are some Tempers so cautious and fearful, they seem enslaved to an obscure exactness. If they move 'tis only in a trodden path, Some there are that creep for fear of falling, and have only this to be said for 'em, that they have no fault. A more happy, or at least, the better Genius, knows very well that the Scrupulous Grammarian cannot consist with the great Orator; such very often free themselves from the Slavery of Rules, fly aloft, and seek for Gl'ry in Danger. One is charm'd with Elevation and Boldness; another with Exactness and Regularity. *Pliny the Younger*, who now speaks good *French*, and who is not often proud of his own Works, ingenuously tells his Friend: *Those places which to you appear swelling, to me appear sublime; the Figures you call extravagant, I judge to be only bold; the Expressions you reject as superfluous, I admit as necessary, at least to make up the harmony of Numbers.* In this diversity of Tasts and Characters, which the different forming of the Organs will always maintain, common sense offers

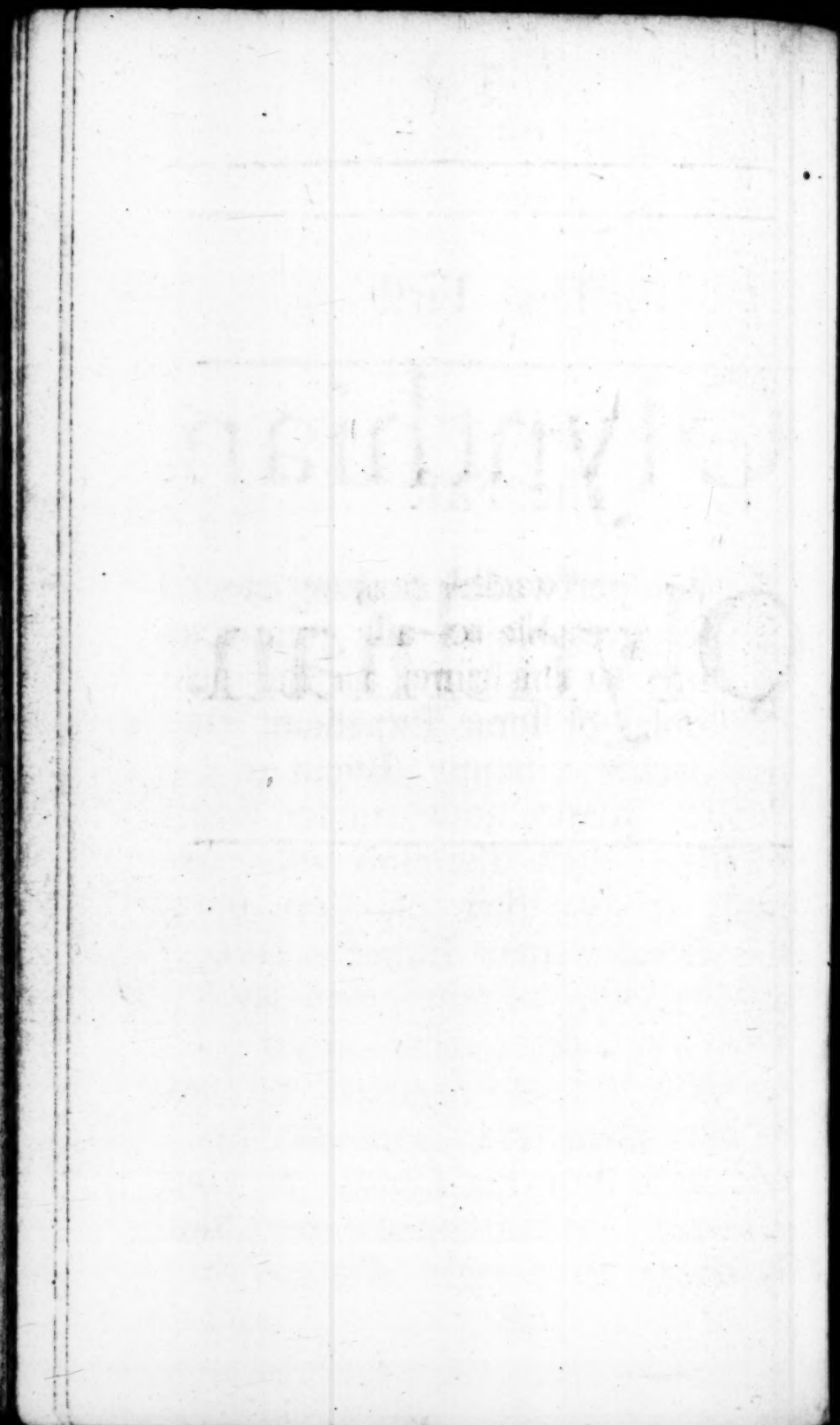
offers streight and certain Rules; but we are apt to warp and bend it; or rather, instead of applying our selves to the Rule, we bring the Rule to our own Fancy. There is no Man but is born with, and lives in a disposition to believe, that Nature thinks and speaks as he does. Every thing that discomposes this *Idea*, every thing that is not conformable to this Model, appears to him affected, forc'd, bumbastick, out of the road which he calls natural, and which very often is no other than his own. This is the daily Illusion of the Heart. The Arguments which form, and the Prejudices that establiish Self love are never subject to vary. We ought therefore, when we undertake the writing of a Book, to animate our selves with a desire of pleasing the whole World; but as for the hope of attaining that Desire, we ought to renounce it the moment the Book goes out of our hands.

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The First

Olynthian.

I Am perswaded nothing can be so agreeable to all your Desires at this time, as the proposal of some Expedient that may secure a happy Event to the Publick Affairs now under Deliberation: they therefore who are ready to give their Opinions upon this Occasion may Expect a favourable hearing, whether they lay before you such thoughts as are better weigh'd and digested, or such as offer themselves upon the Spot, and arise from the Course of your Debates; for nothing can more likely direct to a right Choice than

when variety of Projects are expos'd to view, and many Expedients are offer'd.

The present Opportunity calls upon You and tells you, this is the time effectually to provide for the Safety of your Allies, if you have any regard to your own Safety: So far am I from knowing whether you incline to follow the Advice, that I doubt whether you are dispos'd to hear it as you ought; but this I know, it will not be Sufficient that you resolve upon a War (to avoid those Mistakes which have already cost you so dear) tho' you Arm with the utmost diligence for the Relief of the *Olynthians*; you must at the same time take this farther Care, that they be speedily acquainted with your Resolutions and Preparations too, and that the Presence and Vigour of your Ambassadors, give them Heart and Courage from the Expectation of your
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Succours : I fear if this be neglected, the Artificial King of *Macedon*, so well instructed, in all the Arts of managing Opportunities, he that knows so well when to recede, and to push his Advantages, whose Threats are always, and only to be depended upon ; this Prince, I fear, may make a Crime to your Allies even of the Measures you take towards their Relief, because they are so Languishing and Slow ; and by turning himself every way, and into every Shape, he may frustrate the Hopes you entertain from the present Lucky Posture of Affairs.

However, this encouragement you have, That the very Power of your Enemy, which appears so Formidable gives you a prospect of Success ; It must be confess'd no small Advantage to *Philip* towards his Conquest, that he can impart or conceal his Secret as he thinks fit, that he can unite in Himself the Sovereign,

reign, the General, and at the same time, - be the Sole disposer of his Treasure; that he can give Life and Vigour by his Presence to all his Military Expeditions; this enables him I confess, to form and put in Execution those speedy, and just Measures which secure Success to great Enterprizes: but then these Advantages, which make it so easie, for him to Conquer, are the strongest Obstacles to the Treaty, which he wou'd so willingly conclude with the *Olynthians*; they leave no room in the Hearts of the People, for that Trust and Confidence which he wou'd only make use of to betray them: They see plainly, they do not take up Arms for an Interest of Glory, for to save some part of their Dominions, but are convinc'd the War is Necessary to prevent the total Ruin of their Country, and the eternal loss of Liberty: they are not Ignorant how
he

he Rewarded those, who Treacherously open'd to him the Gates of *Amphipolis* and *Pydne*. In a word what can give more just Suspensions to a Common-Wealth, than the too near Neighbourhood of a Potent Monarchy?

These Considerations and many others justify me, when I take it upon me to tell you, Now or never you must turn your Thoughts entirely to a War; now you must rowze your Spirits; now you must Sacrifice with Pleasure part of your Estates to secure the rest: To conclude, you must be wanting to your selves in nothing that can be requisite to the Common Safety: have you any reason left, or the least pretence for an Excuse? what have you more earnestly desir'd than a difference betwixt *Philip* and the *Olynthians*? What by the Universal Cry of the People ought to have been purchas'd at any rate, that Fortune alone hath brought

about, and given a turn to Affairs highly to your Advantage: for if they had engag'd in a War, by your Perswasions against the Common Enemy, if they had only espous'd, your Interest, an Animosity inspir'd by others might perhaps have cool'd, and they might have been less resolute in a Quarrel, they wou'd not have accounted their Own: but now when united to you by a self Interested Revenge against *Philip*, when they are ty'd to you, by a rage which the Bloody Injuries receiv'd from him, have created and must continue, what fear is there they can ever go back? No, this Alliance must be cemented for ever, by their Apprehensions and by their Resentments: Let us make use then of this Occasion so long desir'd, and speedily lay hold of these happy Moments made precious by the loss of so many Opportunities.

Can that Day be remember'd with Sufficient regret, when forgetting

ing your Interest to that degree, after the *Eubæan* Expedition, you wou'd not receive the offers of *Hyerax* and *Stratocles* Ambassadors from *Amphipolis* ? who from the Place from whence I speak, us'd their utmost Solicitations only in order to put their City in your Hands nevertheless you were deaf and inexorable, then you might have been Masters of *Amphipolis*, if you would have been as kind to your selves as to the *Eubæans*, and as warm in your own Interest as you had been in theirs : Then only by accepting the offer'd Advantage you might have prevented all those Mischiefs which have follow'd your Refusal. In what a fatal Tranquility did you remain, when you receiv'd the news of the Sieges of *Pydne*, *Potidea*, *Methone* and *Pagasa*, and other Places I omit naming, to avoid the odious Account : You are now sufficiently punish'd by the Consequences of your Insensibility ; for had you sent

speedy Relief to the first of those Places when Besieg'd, as the Common Rules of Prudence and Policy requir'd, at this day you wou'd have found *Philip* more Gentle and complying; but by perpetually neglecting the Present, and vainly hoping that Time wou'd adjust Matters, and bring them to a better Issue, you have brought that Prince to such a Pitch of Glory; You have establish'd him in that high degree of Power, that no King of *Macedon* cou'd ever have hop'd to arrive at: and yet you need not despair, if you have Courage enough to make use of the present Opportunity the *Olynthians* offer you, which restores the Probability of those Advantages you have so often Neglected. Who can pretend not to see the particular Protection of the Gods in Blessings so often offer'd! and if we make a just Account of the repeated Favours, from Heav'n, What Soul but must be touch'd with the highest Gratitude?

tude! For to what can we impute our Losses, but the little concern we shew'd to prevent them? while a Supreme Power, never ceasing to protect us, does yet manifest a short and Secure way of repairing all our former Mistakes, by accepting the Alliances which are now propos'd, and has given us this farther Opportunity of providing for our Safety, and retrieving our Reputation, after having so long deferr'd our Ruin.

But we may compare the right use of favourable Conjunctures to the proper use of Riches. The Frugal Man who knows at the same time, how to enjoy and secure his Wealth, is sensible of the favours of Fortune, while the wastful Prodigal loses at once his Gratitude and Estate. So those that neglect and do not improve the favourable Opportunities offer'd, by the Gods, forget the Acknowledgments that are due; and the same Imprudence which

which makes them unfortunate, makes them ungrateful; for commonly in the Minds of Men, the last Accident qualifies all the rest, and impresses the Character of Misfortune, or Happiness upon the whole.

'Tis time to reform our false way of Reasoning, and our more extravagant way of Acting; let us preserve what remains, to prevent an eternal Stain upon our Reputation: our Interest is no less at Stake; if you dismiss those that now Solicit You, as you did the Ambassadors from *Amphipolis*; if you suffer the *Olynthians* to be destroy'd, you assist your greatest Enemy, and give him Liberty to carry his Successful Arms wherever he pleases: What Barrier shall secure You from the Conquerour of *Olynthus*? Will none of You, Gentlemen, look back to his first feeble beginning? Will none of you consider the rapid surprizing Progress of his Arms? First *Amphipolis*

phipolis is taken, then *Pydne*; he next surprizes *Potidea*, and makes himself Master of *Methone*, from thence he falls upon *Thessaly*, *Pheres*, *Magnesia*, *Pagafus* own his Power, and *Thrace* is the next Object of his Ambition: There he Snatches and breaks Scepters at his will, and out of the Remains of Governments overthrown and divided Kingdoms he erects new Monarchies at Pleasure. At last a Disease gives some small stop to his Course, but hardly is he restor'd to Health when his Natural Disposition prevails, and without the least Intermiſſion to his Arms he attacks the *OLynthians* with the utmost Fury. I shall say nothing of his Attempts against the *Paonians*, the *Illyrians*, and *Arymbas*. It may be ask'd, perhaps, why I have mention'd so many of them, and to what purpose this disagreeable recital of his Exploits? 'tis to convince you, to make you sensible,

ble, if possible, both how remiss you your selves have been in suffering these Encroachments upon your Neighbours, and how restless and enterprizing an Enemy you have to deal with, who, great as he is, still is aiming to be Greater, and can set no bounds to his Ambition.

Judge in time what must be the last fatal Scenes of the Bloody Tragedy, if while he acts the part of an Indefatigable Conquerour, you remain the Patient and gentle Spectators of his unbounded Violence. Are any of our Citizens so weak sighted as not to see the War is hast'ning to them? It must be a Voluntary Blindness in them who will not perceive that the Calamities the *Olynthians* now endure are the very same that are preparing for themselves. I doubt at last you will meet the same Fate which attends those Borrowers, who if they can procure the
Mo-

Monies they desire never consider the Interest they Pay : The Ancient Patrimony and Estate. is soon consum'd by such Idle Prodigals, and their short liv'd abundance flings them Headlong into a tedious Misery : I fear You will some time or other pay the like undoing Reck'ning for those soft and easie Moments you now enjoy, from the fatal remissness of your present Temper.

I shall be told, perhaps, how Easie it is to find Fault, that Censuring is every Body's Talent, but that the part of an Orator is to give proper Advice in difficult Conjunctions : they are in the Right who deliver this Opinion : but I should be much in the wrong if I were not fully convinc'd the danger is greater among you, for him who undertakes a Reformation of Miscarriages, than for him that dares commit them. When Success does not answer your Expectations,

pections, your Passion does not
 discharge it self upon those who
 are the Authors of your Disappoint-
 ments, but he that spoke last bears
 the Weight of unsuccessful Events.
 'Tis now my turn to be plac'd on
 this Station, but I can never be-
 tray my own thoughts, and hap-
 pen what will, my particular Safe-
 ty shall always be Sacrific'd to
 the Publick Good. Upon the whole,
 my Opinion is that taking into
 Consideration the Interest of the
Olynthians, and your own; You
 are oblig'd to attempt their Re-
 lief Two severall ways; at once
 your Army must march directly to
Olynthus, and at the same time
 with your Fleet you must make
 a Descent upon the *Macedonians*.
 I shou'd Mistrust the event, if
 either of these attempts were made
 alone : do you think a Descent suf-
 ficient ? *Philip* will continue his
 Enterprizes, and exposing for some
 few days a corner of his Country
 to

to your Insults, will soon return in Triumph to repell the Invasion: Do you content your Selves with sending Succours to *Olynthus*? *Philip* will press the Siege, and being in no Care about his own Country, by his obstinate attacks will force the Town to Surrender. If my Opinion can prevail, let our Army be divided into Two Bodies, strong enough to act separately, and both with Success. If the difficulty lies in the Expence of your Preparations and the pay of your Troops, are you not better provided than any others? Have you not better Funds than any People of *Greece* to carry on the War? But you are obstinately bent to divert them to other Uses, and you make no Scruple to dispose of them to less noble Ends: will you give back these Revenues to your Troops? then you have nothing more to look for: but if this cannot be obtained, see if you can pro-

provide other Supplies ; tho I will not be answerable such can be found as will not prove deficient.

It will Immediately be ask'd me, what ? will you have a Law to resume all those Funds formerly destin'd to the War ? No sure : I shall not make so great a mistake ; I only say that you must Levy Troops, that those Funds were appropriated for their Pay, that Pay is the due of the Souldiers, that Rewards and Duty are inseparable, and if your Recompence be not ready it is in vain to expect their Service : But you, Gentlemen, without any Scruple can allot to your Selves the Publick Monies, and abandon'd to a most shameful Idleness can spend it in Revelling and Pleasure. You may dispute if you please of the Proportion of the Tax, more or less, as the Necessity of the State requires, but no Man can pretend
to

to expect any retrieve under our present difficulties but from a General Imposition : A Fund must be fixt, and such is the indispensable necessity, that without it you can do nothing. Let others, if they please, shew you Expedients to provide for your Military Expence, and do you choose the best which they offer ; but while it is yet time to do something, do not suffer yourselves to be frightened by the first view of things, observe them nearer, and you shall find them otherwise than they appear to be, and that the present Situation of Affairs more than ever gives you encouragment to undertake a War.

Philip never began this War with expectation to go thro' with it, he flatter'd himself that his first appearance wou'd secure him Submission : the *Olynthians* have deceiv'd his Expectations, their ob-

obstinate and unexpected resistance have put him out of his Measures; his disappointment and disorder increases by the disposition of the *Thessalians*, and he is like to feel his share of their known and natural perfidiousness: They are resolv'd to redemand *Pagafus*, they will not allow him to fortify *Magnesia*, and may prove as faithless to him as to the rest of Mankind. There is a Report they have stop'd the Payment of several Port Duties which he us'd to receive; They were excusable indeed if their Inconstancy were always so well justify'd, for sure they have as good a Right as *Philip* to the *Revenues* arising from *Theffaly*: When these Supplies are wanting he will hardly be able to support his Foreign Troops; and can it be doubted but that all People prefer being govern'd by their own Laws, before being in Subjection to others? The *Paonians*, the *Illyrians* will agree,

gree, with the whole Race of mankind in this, that Liberty is preferable to Slavery.

This Prince has a Character of Haughtiness which I am apt to believe his due; how can People that have known the Happiness of Independance lose it without regret under the Discipline of so severe a Master? His prosperous Successes perswade him he need keep no Measures with Mankind; and a happy Temerity encourages that attempting Humour, which is not always attended with Prudence; those therefore who best know how to acquire, do not always take the Measures most proper to secure their Acquisitions.

This lay down for a Maxim, when ever that Prince meets with a great disappointment, that time is your lucky hour which you shou'd improve to the utmost; send then your Ambassadors where ever your Interest requires them, serve in
Per-

Person at the Head of your Troops, encourage the People by your Example, and set up the Standard of Liberty.

Take it for granted in such Circumstances *Philip* wou'd never spare You ; if he had the lucky Opportunity of a War upon your Borders, with what fury wou'd he fall upon the *Athenians* ! and will you not dare against him, when you have it in your Power, what he wou'd never want the Heart to attempt against you were there a fair Occasion ? Remember You have now in your Choice which of the Two shall be upon the Defensive, whether you will carry to day the War into *Macedonia*, or expect it to Morrow in *Attica* : You may ravage the Enemies Country, and secure the peaceable Possession of your Own. If *Philip* be once Master of *Olynthus*, his next Visit is to You ; and who shall hinder him ? shall the *Thebans*
 Stop

Stop his Progress? who knows but in their Resentments against you they may even prevent his solicitations? shall the *Phocaans*? they that dare not think of defending themselves without your Support? and whence have you any other hope of an Opposition to him? Perhaps at that time *Philip* may not think of the *Athenians*, but from whence this thought? Is it because the *Athenians* do not now think of themselves? what idle Expectations when the fair Occasion and the inviting Facility wou'd encourage the most moderate and unattempting Person. Shall those great Designs be laid aside which he is ever brooding? and which with an indiscreet Confidence he cannot forbear to publish in all Places? Surely you are not now to learn the difference of attacking *Philip*, or expecting his Invasions: deceive not your selves; your own Troops without any prejudice from the Enemy, were they to Encamp

camp some time in *Attica*, and to be maintain'd from thence, the Damages the Country wou'd suffer by them alone you wou'd willingly repair at the price of the late War: but when ever the Dismal Scene is to be play'd at your Gates, and that your Country proves the Bloody Theatre of War, what Devastations, what affronts must you expect! Attended with the highest Infamy! Such Infamy as great Men wou'd Account the heaviest Aggravation of their Ruin.

Are not these Motives strong enough to incite you, without delay, to send Succours to the *Olynthians*, to keep the War at a distance? Shou'd not the Rich concur in these Measures which for a small Contribution may give them a quiet Possession of their Wealth? shou'd not the young applaud them, and desire to learn that Art of War at *Philip's* loss in an Enemies Country, by which they may be able to defend their own? shou'd

shou'd not those who Advice encourage such Measures as may make them safe in the Success of their Counsels? Fools indeed, if they do not expect in all Events the same Usage from you, which you receive from Fortune: May we all, by doing in our Several Stations what we ought, conspire with her to the Publick Good.

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(25)
I should not have been so quick to
leave the subject as I have

The Second

Olympian

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HEN I compare
theians, the World
of some amongst us
with their Actions

I am at a loss to reconcile what
I see, with what I hear.

Their Discourses are full of
warmth against Party, But their
Proceedings are such, as ought to
render every thing they say suspect

By Confounding You with new
Projects. They consider your Relo-
utions and lead you from Exe-
cution

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The Second

Olynthian.

WHEN I compare, *Athenians*, the Words of some amongst us with their Actions, I am at a loss to reconcile what I see, with what I hear.

Their Discourses are full of warmth against *Philip*, But their Proceedings are such, as ought to render every thing they say Suspected.

By Confounding You with new Projects, They perplex your Resolutions: And lead you from Executing

cuting what is in your Power, by engaging you in Notions, not to be reduc'd to Practice.

'Tis true there was a Time, when we were considerable enough, not only to defend our own Borders, and protect our Neighbours, But to invade our great Enemy in his Own Dominions.

Yes, *Athenians*, there was such a Time, I remember it my self, but we must now Retrench our Schemes to the bare preservation of our Allies.

Till that point shall be settled, 'tis in vain to form projects of greater consequence; for tho' in the End we may hope to Humble our Enemy, before we can arrive at the End we must fix the Beginning.

Never did any Conjunction require so much prudence as this: However I should not despair of Seasonable Remedies, could I but find the secret, to give you a Relish for that which is proper, and to determine

determine you to pursue it as you ought. For by all that I have ever heard, or been able to observe, the Opportunities which have so frequently escap'd you, have not been lost thro' want of Right Judgment, or due penetration, but thro' a careless Indifference to do your Duty.

Wherefore if I assume at this time a more than Ordinary Liberty of speech, I conjure you to suffer Patiently those Truths which are design'd for your Service. You have too many Reasons to be sensible, how much you have Suffer'd by Flatterers, and it will therefore not be improper to present you some Image of past miscarriages, in order to correct your Measures for the Future.

You may remember, *Athenians*, About three or four Years since, we had the News of *Philip's* Besieging the Fortress of *Juno* in *Thrace*: It was I think in *October*

we receiv'd this Intelligence. Whereupon an Immediate supply was Voted of *Threescore Talents, Forty Men of War were Order'd to Sea, And preferring the Necessities of State, to our very Laws, our * Citizens even above the Age of Five and Forty Years, were Commanded to serve. Yet notwithstanding, a whole Year was Suffer'd to pass without any thing done, and it was but in the Third Month of the following Year, a little after the Celebration of the Feast of Ceres, that *Charidemus* set Sail, Furnisht with no more than * Five Talents, n l Ten Gallies, unman'd.

A Rumour was spread that King *Philip* was Sick, which was soon follow'd by another, that he was Dead : And thus, as if all Dangers Dy'd with him, you let

* Ten Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds Sterlin.

* Citizens above the Age of 45 Years Exempted by Law, from any Obligation to Serve.

* Nine Hundred Pounds Sterlin.

fall your Preparations. Yet then was the time to be Active, then was your Opportunity to Secure your selves, and to Annoy your Enemy : For had your Resolutions, taken with so much heat, been as warmly Seconded by Action, then had you been as Terrible to *Philip*, as *Philip* recover'd, is now to you.

But what is done, is not to be undone ; To what purpose then at this time, these Reflexions ? But tho' past Moments are not to be Recall'd, past Errors may be Repeated ; having therefore before us a fresh Provocation, to enter into a New War, let the Memory of your past Negligence, by which you Suffer so much, Instruct you to be more Vigilant under the present Danger. For, O *Athenians* ! Take it for granted, if the *Olynthians* are not Succour'd out of hand, with your utmost Force, you become Assistants to King *Philip*.

Philip, and serve him more Effectually than he can serve himself.

The Strength of that Commonwealth, was Sufficient alone to keep him within bounds: Neither durst *Philip* Attack the *Olynthians*, nor the *Olynthians* *Philip*; so equal was the Balance of Power between them. We form'd a League with these last, and 'twas a terrible Heart-burning to *Philip*, to see at his very Gates a Republick in a Condition, by being Confederated with us, not only to thwart all his Projects, but to carry a War into the very Bowels of *Macedon*.

From that time we conceiv'd the design of creating some Breach between those two Powers, and at any rate to set them together by the Ears: What we Projected, is arriv'd, no matter how, but Fortune has brought about, what we had been wishing so often.

What

what then have we to do, but to
 Second our Fortune, by sending a
 quick and Powerful Assistance to
 this People, Thus Happily engag'd
 by Providence for our Sakes?
 Should we Neglect an Advantage
 of this importance, we shall not
 only be cover'd with confusion and
 reproach, but expos'd to a long
 Chain of Inevitable Evils from the
 Conquerour : Especially considering
 the disposition of the *Thebians* to
 catch at any Occasion to our pre-
 judice, and the Inability of the *Pho-*
ceans, drain'd by a long War, to
 Assist us.

What way then to put a Stop
 to the Conquerour? Or to pre-
 vent him from turning his whole
 Force against *Athens*? The man
 who is for deferring his Duty till
 then, had rather see War and De-
 solation in his own Country, than
 hear of it in Another: And had
 rather Scandalously beg Assistance
 from his Neighbours, than Gene-

olly give it. Nor can any thing
be more Obvious; than that we
are destin'd for his next Prey, If
we Suffer him to succeed in his
present Enterprize.

But you reply, Have we not
Unanimously Voted to stand by
the *Olympians*? Instruct us what
Measures to take. Be not Displeas'd
Athenians; If I should offer any Ad-
vice contrary to your Inclinations,
or the general Opinion.

I would have you begin by ap-
pointing a Certain Number of *Le-
gislators*, or Commissioners to in-
spect your Laws, not to Create a
Confusion of more, we have alrea-
dy too many, but to repeal such
as upon Examination, are found
prejudicial to the Publick, at this
time. I would speak plain. I mean
those Laws which discourage and
oppress the Soldiery by appropri-
ating to the Maintenance of our
Theaters, that Mony which ought to
be employ'd for a provision for
those

those who venture their Lives for
their Country.

When you have reform'd those
Abuses which give away the
Bread of the Soldier, to Citizens,
Idle and Un-useful; and which
squander in Pensions, to Mimicks
and Buffoons, what might be Con-
verted to the Support of Men of
Honour; When you have Abro-
gated, I say, those Sanguinary Laws
in such manner, that it may be no
longer Dangerous to speak plain,
you will not want Friends, who
with Freedom and Sincerity, will
offer such Expedients as your Safe-
ty, and the Exigences of State shall
require. But if you are too Ob-
stinate to revoke any Act once
past, tho' never so contrary to
Sense and the Publick Good, if it
shall be accounted a Capital Crime,
to Arraign any such Act, or De-
mand the Revocation, you may
spare your selves the trouble of
enquiring after Truth, for who
will

will seek to make you Honest, or Wife, by the Forfeiture of his Head. No *Athenians*, you must expect no Friends at that Price; the best Intention'd, and most Zealous of your Citizens, will be circumspect, or silent, when their Sincerity must be Fatal to themselves, without being Serviceable to you, and as long as such examples can be turn'd only to Terrify others, from endeavouring your good with the same Freedom.

Since therefore such Laws there are, with such dangerous Penalties annext, that honest well-meaning Men dare not speak plain, let the Contrivers of the Mischief be Condemn'd to repair it, by being oblig'd to run the hazard of demanding the Revocation : For what freedom of Speech can you expect, if whilst you Honour with your Protection, and encourage with your Favour, such Sycophants only as consult your Fancy, and flatter your

your Inclinations, tho' never so contrary to your Interest, or your Honour: The true Patriot, who has no other end but your Good, shall be Falsly Accused and Suspected, and deliver'd up as a Sacrifice to the hatred and humour of the People. Let me tell you, *Athenians*, till some Legal Redress can be had of this Grievance, the very best of your Citizens, let his Interest be never so Powerful, will be Punish'd for the freedom of his Advice, if he is so mad as to give it: But who will be a Friend, when he is sure to be treated like an Enemy?

It is not less necessary to warn you that Votes are of no Force, unless Seconded by Action: If your Resolutions had the Virtue to compass what you Intend, without other Aid, we should not see yours multiply as they do ever, day, and upon every occasion, with so little effect; Nor would *Philip* be
in

In a Condition to Brave and As-
front us in this manner: For it
has not happen'd thro' want of warm
and seasonable Votes, that we
have fail'd to Chastize him long
since.

But this is not the Way, for
the Action in its proper Order,
must succeed to Deliberation, tho'
it is the last in Place, 'tis the first
in Merit, as having the whole
Honour of the Success, for nothing
can be finish'd without it. Proceed
then, *Athenians*, to Crown your
Deliberations with Action: You
have Heads capable to Advise
what is Best, you have Apprehen-
sion and Judgment to discern what
is Right, and you have Power
and Opportunity to Execute what
you determine.

What time so proper for Action,
what occasion so Happy? And
when can you hope for such a-
nother, if this be Neglected? Has
not Philip possess'd himself of what
was

was yours in Thraciada's be not
 at this Instant Straighten and let
 invade our Allies, whom we have
 solemnly sworn to protect? Is he
 not our Enemy profess? The U-
 surper of Provinces to which he
 has no Title or pretence? A Strang-
 er a Barbarian, and indeed what,
 is he not? *Deliberate* And yet, O Gods, when we shall
 have Abandon'd all things to this
Philip, When by the Indifference
 of some, by the Treachery of others,
 we have, as it were, added Wings
 and Force to his Ambition, we shall
 yet make our selves a farther
 Scorn to our Enemies, by loading
 each other with reproach. Each Party
 tho' Equally guilty of the Common
 Calamity, will be imputing the
 miscarriage to his Neighbour, and
 tho' never so Conscious, every one
 will be excusing himself, by up-
 braiding another. As after a Battle,
 not a man that Fled but accuses
 his Companion, Condemns his Ge-
 nerals,

neral, and separately Examined, no one takes shame to himself, Each Shifting the common Disgrace from one to the other: Yet notwithstanding, 'tis certain that each single particular who gave Ground, was necessary to the General defeat, for that man who accuses the next might have stood firm had he pleas'd, and that which was a Rout, had then been a Victory.

Such is the Pride and Folly of your Parties, Each Enveighing against the Miscarriages of the other. A manager for one side proposes: Let another reply, and then another, but Gently, Amicably, without Heat Malice or Reflection. Is there yet a Fourth, who can advise you more to the purpose? Hear him, and let not partiality or prejudice, but Right Reason direct you.

But the best Council falls short, or is contrary to what we desire. That's none of his fault who gives it :

it: Solicite the Gods for every thing you would have: Nothing is so Easy as to wish every man in a moment can heap desire upon desire, and be Prodigal to Infinity: Let then the Gods have your Vows, for such things as are pleasing. But let your Debates for the Publick be confin'd to what only seems profitable. Pray according to your wishes, but act according to your Circumstances.

Suppose for Example some Person should now Rise, pretending to Furnish a Fund, without Touching your Appointments for Shows: And thus Endeavour to reconcile your Duty and Pleasure. With what Joy you would receive the proposal! But where to find this able Projector? And how to come at the Man who, having dissipated real Funds in Superfluous expence, can find a Secret to Satisfy the Necessary Charge, out of Funds not in being? And yet
you

you would Relish the proposal,
tho' never so incongruous or im-
practicable, for what Flatters, ne-
ver Fails of Reception; from
whence it happens, that every one
is aiding to his own deceit,
and over-looking the improbable,
sooths himself with any Extrava-
gance, Encourag'd by his desires.

But 'tis a Misfortune that Cir-
cumstances and Events will often
fall out contrary to our Fancies;
and in such Cases, where Necessi-
ty is not to be reconcil'd to Hu-
mour, we must Sacrifice Humour
to Necessity, and conforming our-
selves to the Nature and condi-
tion of our Affairs; act according
to what we can, and not accord-
ing to what we would. And thus,
contenting your selves with that
proportion of the Publick Money
which you daily receive, you may
Fight for Your Country without
any farther change.

'Tis

'Tis indeed beneath the Spirit and Bravery of *Athenians* to bear thus patiently to be insulted, for want of Funds Necessary to the support of an Honourable War. 'Tis not at all of a piece with that Fire and Gallantry with which you took Arms to put a stop to the *Corinthians*, and to Punish the Treachery of *Megara*, thus to Suffer *Philip* at his Pleasure to over-run *Greece*, on pretence only of not being in a Condition to enter into a new War: whereas those were all *Greeks*, and this a Foreigner and a Barbarian.

What I say is not meant to give Offence: I am not so mad as to run headlong upon your Displeasure, and fail besides of doing you service. But I think it the Duty of a faithful and sincere Lover of his Country, to prefer the Wellfare of his fellow Citizens, to the desire of pleasing them. It was with this honest
 at free-

freedom, the Common-Wealth was directed, by those Ancient and Memorable Patriots, who to this day are so Prodiggally Prais'd, tho' so sparingly Imitated; *Aristides*, *Nicias*, *Pericles*, and the great Man, whose Name I bear.

But since we have been pester'd with a vile Race of Sycophants, who never dare to open their Mouths, till they have learnt their Lessons, till they have servilely enquir'd what they shall say, what they shall propose, and in what they may make themselves agreeable : In a word, since Advices publickly given, must first be whisper'd from without doors, and you bespeak, as it were, and prepare your own Poyson ; how could it otherwise happen, but your Debates must be Corrupted, your Counsels Ineffectual, your Reputation Blasted, and Disgrace accumulated upon Disgrace, whilst these Illustrious Parasites Flourish
and

and Prosper by their Country's
Ruin.

Observe I beseech you, *Athenians*, how different this Conduct appears, from the Practice of your Fore-Fathers. I shall be short, and will alledge no Instance but what is Notorious. For to become Happy and Wise, there will be no need of Foreign Examples, the Domestick will be sufficient.

Your Ancestors, who were serv'd with Truth and Plain-dealing, and not with Flattery and vain Compliments; Your Ancestors, I say, by Unanimous Consent for the space of Five and Forty Years gave Law to all Greece, * Enrich'd the Publick Treasures, Exercis'd over the Kings of *Macedon* that Authority which is due to Barbarians, Obtain'd both by Sea and by Land, in their own Persons, frequent

* Ten Thousand Talents, being One Million Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling.

quent and Signal Victories, and by their Noble Exploits Transmitted to posterity an Immortal Memory of their Virtue above the rest of Mankind, and out of the Reach of Malice or Detraction. Such were your Ancestors in respect to their publick Figure abroad, and in regard to all Greece in General. Let us now consider these persons in their private Capacities, and their particular Stations in *Athens* alone.

It is to them we owe that great Number of publick Buildings, so Beautyfull and Magnificent, And those Temples so Richly adorn'd with the Spoils of their Enemies, bearing an Eternal record of Valour never to be surpass'd. And yet if you Visit the House of *Aristides* *Miltiades*, or any of those Heroes of Antiquity, you will find Nothing, not the least mark or Ornament, to distinguish it from the next Neighbour. They meddled
not

not in Government to enrich themselves, But the Publick. They had no Ambition or Design, but for the Publick: Nor knew any other Interest than that of the Publick. It was by a close and steady Application to the General good of their Country, by an Exemplary Piety Towards the Immortal Gods, by a Strickt Faith and Religious Honesty between Man and Man and by a Moderation alwaies Uniform and of a piece, They Establish that Reputation which remains to this Day, and will last to utmost Posterity.

Such, O men of Athens, were your Ancestors: So Glorious in the Eye of the World, so Bountyfull and Munificent to their Country, so sparing, so modest, and so self-denying to themselves. What resemblance can we find in your smooth Plausible Flatterers, to those Great Men? How much unlike! What a Provoking comparison! But tho'

tho' a great deal might be said,
I shall urge only this:

That at a time, when all your Competitors have left the Field open; At a time when the *Lacedaemonians* are Disabled, when the *Thebans* are employ'd in Troubles of their own, when no other State whatever is in a Condition to rival or molest you; In short, when you are at full Liberty, when you have the Opportunity and the Power, to become once more sole Arbiters of *Greece*, You permit Patiently whole Provinces to be Wrested from you, you Lavish Scandalously * the Publick Mony to Obscure Uses; you suffer your Allies to Perish in time of Peace, whom you preserv'd in time of War. And to Sum up all, You your selves, at the Instigation of these False Counsellours, Abet, encourage, and Strengthen the most Dangerous

* Fifteen Hundred Talents, being Two Hundred Seventy Thousand Pounds Sterlin.

Dangerous and Formidable of your Enemies.

Yes, *Athenians*, I repeat it, you your selves are the contrivers of your own Ruin. Lives there a man who has confidence to deny it? Let him Rise, and Assign if he can, any other Cause of the Success and Prosperity of *Philip*.

But say you, what *Athens* hath lost in Reputation abroad, she has gain'd in Splendor at home—shall I be paid with such Counters? Shall I be put off with walls new Wash'd, with Streets repair'd, or Beautifi'd, a new Fountain, and such Trifles?

Cast your Eye on the Magistrate, to whom you owe these Precious Improvements: Examine the Despicable Creature, rais'd all at once from Dirt to Oppulence: from the lowest Obscurity, to the highest Honours. Have not some of these Men Built private Palaces, outshining the best of our Publick
D Buildings?

Buildings? And how have their Fortunes and Power encreased, but as the Common-Wealth has been Ruin'd and Impoverisht?

To what shall we impute this Extream disorder? And to what Cause assign the Decay of a State so Powerful and Flourishing in past Times? The Reason is plain. In former Ages we were Brave, we had Spirit, we serv'd in Person in our Armies : The Magistrate depended upon the People, Punishment and Reward were Properties of the People, all Honours Dignities and Preferments were dispos'd by the Voice and Favour of the People: But the Magistrate has now Usurpt the Right of the People, and Exercises an Arbitrary Authority over his Ancient and Natural Lord.

You Miserable People the meanwhile, without Money, without Friends, the supports of Power, from being the Ruler are become
the

the Servant; from being the Master, the Dependant: Happy that these Governours into whose hands you have thus resign'd your own Power are yet so good, and so Gracious as to continue your poor Allowance of two Farthings a day to see Sights!

And yet you are thankful tho' these Miserable Liberalities, are Originally an Establishment of your Own, you seem as well pleas'd and as Acknowledging, as if these men were your real Benefactors, and as if the Obligation was deriv'd from their Bounty, And not from your own Institution.

It has Happen'd by means of this vile and Abject Resignation, This stupid and preposterous deference, That these designing *Politicians* have by little and little possess themselves of a Power not their own, Undermin'd your Liberties, and prepar'd you insensibly for Slavery. Neither is it

in Nature, *Athenians*, that from such Magistrates, whose Occupations are so Childish and vain, we can ever expect any Generous or Manly design : For a certain Judgment may be made of the Man, from his common and natural manner of Employing his Time.

I protest Solemnly, *Athenians*, I shall not at all be surpris'd? If I incur your displeasure, by my Frankness : Nor if, I, who seek to open your Eyes, should be Treated more like an Enemy, than those who Blind and Abuse you : I know very well you are seldom in Humour to Suffer bold Truths : And am rather surpris'd at this unusual Attention, by which I am Encourag'd to proceed.

Believe me, *Athenians*, if recovering from this Lethargy, you would assume the Ancient freedom and Spirit of your Fathers ; If you would be your own Souldiers and your own Commanders, confiding
no

no longer your affairs in Foreign or Mercenary hands ; If you would charge your selves with your own defence, Employing abroad for the Publick, what you wast in Unprofitable Pleasures at home, The World might once more behold you make a Figure worthy of *Athenians*.

And indeed, of what real use or Benefit to you, is that Wretched Substistence, with which you are so poorly contented? What but a meer Encouragement for Idleness ! Too little to satisfy, and but just enough to prevent a more Honest Industry : Like the slender Diet, Allow'd to the Sick, that neither Contributes to Health nor Strength, and but barely serves to keep together a Miserable Life.

You would have us then, say you, doe service in our Armies, in our own Persons ; and for so doing, you would have the Publick Money, or Pensions which we receive in

times of Peace be accepted as Pay in times of War: Is it thus we are to understand you?

Yes, *Athenians*, 'tis my plain meaning. And I would make it a Standing Rule, That no Person whatsoever, should be the better for the publick Money, who grudges to Employ it, for the Publick Service. Are we in Peace? The Publick is charg'd with your Subsistence. Are we in War? Or under an inevitable necessity, as at this time to enter into War? Let your Gratitude oblige you to accept as Pay in defence of your Benefactors, what you receive in Peace as meer Bounty. Are there who excuse themselves by reason of their Age? Their Age however hinders them not from Eating the Bread of the Common-Wealth. Let then the Claim of the Old man who would shun the Service, be given over and above to the Old Man,

man, who is willing in what he can to do his Duty.

Thus without any Innovation, without altering or Abolishing any thing, but pernicious Novelties, introduc'd for the Encouragement of Sloth and Idleness ; by converting only for the future the same Funds to the use of the Serviceable, which are spent at present upon the Unprofitable, you may be well serv'd in your Armies, your Troops regularly paid ; Justice duly Administred ; The publick Revenues reform'd and encreas'd ; and every Member of the Common-wealth, render'd useful to his Country, according to his Age or Ability, without any farther Burthen to the State.

The Sum therefore of the whole, amounts to no more than this : That the Wretch who during Times of Danger, is not asham'd to loyter at home, but leads a Lazy, Sauntering, Unprofitable Life, Canvassing the

Actions of others, Questioning, and Enquiring after News, under what Foreign General, and with what Troops of *Mercenaries*, such and such a Battle was Fought? Should no longer be permitted to Eat the Bread of the diligent and Laborious. For 'tis thus to a Tittle, you all pass your times at this Day.

When I said Foreigners, it was not to Reflect upon those men who perform for you, that Duty; which you ought to perform for your selves: But to provoke you if possible, not to resign to Strangers, those opportunities, of gaining your Esteem, which might be made use of to entitle you to Theirs: Nor to Renounce and Abandon as you do, that Reputation, which you inherited from your Ancestors and was purchas'd for you, with so much Toil and Hazard.

This, O men of *Athens*! is what my Duty Prompted me to represent upon this Occasion. May the
Gods

Gods Inspire you to determine upon such Measures, as will be most Expedient for the particular, and the General Good of your Country.

The Third

Olynthian.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Athenians had sent some Forces to the Olynthians, by which Assistance, some small Advantage was gained. With this Success, the People were extremely Elated, and their Orators to sooth their Vanity, perswaded them to reduce the Power of Philip, and avenge themselves of him by Invading Macedonia.

donia. But Demosthenes being
 apprehensive, least the Athenians
 being full of Confidence (as belie-
 ving themselves already Conque-
 rors, and that they had sent suf-
 ficient Aid to the Olynthians)
 should neglect to take any farther
 care of the War, made this Dis-
 course to the People, wherein he
 check'd their Arrogance, and re-
 duc'd their hopes to a cautious Mo-
 desty. He tells them that their
 present deliberations were not how
 to be Avenged of Philip, or how
 to reduce his Power, but how they
 might be Able to Preserve their Al-
 lies. He advises them to apply the
 Theatrical Money to the use of the
 War, but with great caution. The case
 stood thus. To prevent the many
 Abuses that were committed in ta-
 king places in the Theatre, 'twas
 Order'd by the Magistrates, that
 none should be admitted to a place
 till he had paid two pieces of Mo-
 ney,

ney, call'd Oboli. And that this might be no Oppression upon the Poor, 'twas ordered that every one should receive those two Oboli, out of the publick Money. This custom gave beginning to so great an Abuse, that at length the whole Publick Revenue was divided among the People. Hence the Athenians degenerated, they became Lazy, Effeminate, and Corrupt, because they now receiv'd as much Money when they were Idle at home, as formerly they merited by their Service in the Wars. Thus their military vertue was lost, and they made a Law which Threatned Death to any Man who should procure this Theatrical Money to be withheld from the People, and apply'd to the use of the War as formerly, for which reason he handles this part of his Discourse with great caution. He exhorts the People to serve in Person in the War, restore their military discipline, and imitate
the

the Glory of their Ancestors. He severely chides the People for their Effeminacy and want of Spirit; and the Magistrates for neglect of their duty.

The Third

OLYNTHIAN.

THE present Posture of our Circumstances, Men of *Athens*, directs me to give you Advice very different from what the Speeches we have heard Suggest. These seem to raise in you great Expectations of humbling King *Philip*, whereas in truth our Affairs are not so forward and promising. We are our selves in Imminent danger, which it ought to be our earliest Care to prevent: so that those Gentlemen seem to me to be wide of the Business before us, and mistake the very design

sign of our present Debates. I remember the time, and that but too well, when 'twas at once in our Power to have Secured our own State ; and have Avenged our selves of *Philip*. 'Tis not long since you had a fair Opportunity to do both. but now 'tis my opinion that we shall acquit our selves very well, if we take effectual care to preserve our Allies. If this be laid as a good Foundation, 'twill then be a proper time for us to take our Measures for the reducing the Exorbitant power of *Macedon* : Before this First step be rightly taken, 'tis in vain to think of executing Designs, which have a necessary dependance on that. For the present difficulties under which we Labour, are so great, that more than ever, they require our deepest Concern, and most prudent Deliberations. Tho' at the same time, I must tell you, that I don't apprehend it to be my greatest difficulty to offer something

thing that may be expedient for us in the present Conjunction, but rather what words to find out, that as I don't doubt I shall convince you, so I may Rouse you up to Action. For by what I can perceive, either from my own observation, or the report of others, your Miscarriages have not proceeded so much from Ignorance of your Duty, as from your backwardness to perform it.

Therefore I hope you'll bear with the Freedom I shall be forced to use on this occasion, when you find I assert nothing but what is true, and that with no other design, but to restore your Affairs to a better Condition, especially if you consider that all our present Calamities proceed from this, That your Orators have rather Studied to insinuate themselves into your Favour by tickling your Ears, with Flattering Harangues, than dared to have ventur'd your Displeasure, by speaking
those

those ungrateful truths that might have prevented your Misfortunes.

But before I proceed, I think it necessary to remind you of some late passages. You may remember that three or four years ago, news came that King *Philip* had besieged the *Herean* Fort, in *Thracia*; this was in *September*, and after a great deal of heat, you came to these Resolutions, That you would send out a Fleet of Forty Ships; That all between the years of Eighteen and Forty Five, should be obliged to go on board; and, That you would contribute Sixty Talents. But you Suffered this year to be lost. Then came *June*, *July* and *August*, of the next, in which Month delaying till after the Feast of *Ceres*, you sent out *Charidemus*, with but Ten Ships, without any of your own Forces on Board, and with a Sum no greater than Five Talents of Silver. For as soon as ever there came a rumour that *Philip* was sick,
and

and Dead (for both were reported)
 you dropt that Expedition. In this
 consisted your Error, and great
 mistake, for you then let Slip the
 true opportunity of Suppressing
 him, and Securing your selves.
 For if you had then sent your Suc-
 cours thither according to your brisk
 Resolutions, King *Philip* to whom
 we then were so Merciful, had not
 at this time, been in a Condition
 to give us the trouble he does.

Tho' we cannot now retrieve the
 mistakes we then made, yet the op-
 portunity of another War is put in-
 to our Hands. You'll say what op-
 portunity? I answer this, for the
 sake of which I reminded you of
 your former Miscarriages, that you
 might not suffer the same inconve-
 niences a second time. This is the
 time, and this the opportunity,
 which unless you improve by as-
 sisting the *Olynthians*, with the ut-
 most effort of all your Power, con-
 sider that your Actions can bear no o-
 ther

ther interpretation, but that you are directed by the Councils of *Philip*, and lifted under his Banners.

The *Olynthians* were Masters of a considerable Power, and Circumstances on both sides were such, that they were afraid of *Philip*, and he of them. We entered into a Confederacy with them; nor was it a small obstacle to *Philip's* designs, that a State so considerable in their means of infesting him, should, in Alliance with us, be ready to watch all opportunities of Invading his Territories.

His power was then so great that we judged it necessary to leave nothing unattempted that might Arm all his Neighbours against him. Our desires are, in some Measure, answer'd, and he's Engaged in a War. What then remains, Men of *Athens*, but that you lay hold of this wish'd for Opportunity, and come with Vigour, and Power in to the Assistance of your Allies.

For

For besides the just Reproach where-
with our backwardness, and neg-
lect will be branded, we have but
a Melancholy Prospect of the Con-
sequences. The *Thebans* are pro-
voked against us: the *Phoceans*, are
Poor: and when he has Succeeded
in his present Undertaking, there
is nothing left to intercept the course
of his Arms from our selves.

But if after all, any should op-
pose our speedy Execution of these
resolutions, they seem to have a
Mind to make their own Country
the Seat of War, and see at home
the worst of Miseries, when 'tis
in their Power only to hear the
Tidings of them at a distance; and
resolved to reduce themselves, to
such a condition that they shall be
compell'd to beg Succour themselves,
whereas they might, if they would,
prevent all this by assisting others.
These Truths are so Evident that
there are few among you who do

not

not foresee that these will be the effects of your Delay.

Perhaps you'll say, 'tis on all hands resolved to send them Assistance, nor will we Neglect to do it. But the Question, is by what means we shall be enabled to effect it, and this you would gladly hear: be not Startled, men of *Athens*, if I propose something that to many will seem a Paradox. Appoint some to inspect the Laws, not to add to their Number (for already we have enough) but let such as have been injurious to the Publick be repealed. To speak plainly I mean those relating to the Theatrical Money, and some relating to the Souldiers. The one allows that which was Originally designed to pay the Army, to such as lie Idle at Home to procure them a Seat in the Theatre; the other Indemnifies Deserters. When by repealing those, you have made it safe to Advise you, then pitch on a man who may

may propose such methods, as you will all allow to conduce to the Honour, and Security of the Common-Wealth. Till this be done I imagine not that any man will be found Hardy enough to die by your Hands for the good Advice he would give the State. These resentments are too Severe for any one to risqué, especially when it can be of no Service to the Publick. This is a Mischief that is likely to increase, and hereafter 'twill probably become more perillous to Advise you, than 'tis even at present.

These Laws then must be repealed, and that by the very men who proposed them; there being no Reason that they should be Carefs'd, who have humoured the City to its great Detriment, and that the Offence which another may give, by speaking his mind freely for the Publick good, should turn to his Ruine. 'Till this be done, is any
Man's

Man's Power so great, as to secure him against the Penalty of those Laws, if he transgresses them? or is any man so void of Sense as to dare make the Experiment?

'Tis likewise fit you shou'd consider that your good Votes signifie nothing without an hearty Zeal to back them. For if Votes alone had been sufficient to produce active Endeavours, you who have performed that Part so well, had not been so deficient in the other, to the doing of just nothing. Nor had *Philip* so long insulted all his Neighbours. For if Votes could have accomplished our desires, we should long e're this, have Aveng'd our selves of him. But the Case is quite otherwise for as Action follows Speeches, and Resolutions, in order of time, yet 'tis preferable to them in Force and Efficacy. This therefore it chiefly concerns us to add to the other two, since those we have already.

You

You have several among you, Men of *Athens*, that are very capable of Advising you, and your selves are best qualified of any in the World, to pass a right Judgment on what you hear, and you have an opportunity to Execute your Resolutions, unless you be very much wanting to your selves. What better time than the present, or more favourable Juncture can You desire? Or when will you do what you all know must be done, if not now? Has not this Man been before-hand with you in seizing your strong Places. And if he should make himself Master of this Country too, our Miseries will be attended with the utmost Disgrace and Infamy. Are not they who are Engaged in this War, the men to whom we promised early Assistance, in Case they should be so? Is not *Philip* our avow'd Enemy? Is he not in Possession of that which by Right belongs to you? Is he
not

not a Barbarian? And indeed every thing that's Bad? But, for God's sake, after we have let him take all, and done that which is next to Afflicting Him (for our remissness at this time amounts to little less) shall we then at last and not before, enquire at whose door we may lay the Blame of all these Miscarriages? To be sure each of us will be ready to Excuse himself. Thus when an Army is Routed, none will lay the Blame of running away upon Himself, but upon the General, or his Fellow Soldiers; whereas really they had not been routed unless all who fled, had been in Fault; for that Man who blames others, might have stood to it, if he had pleased, which if they had all done, they had won the Victory. This Instance may instruct us what we are to do at this very time. Do you object against what one Proposes? Let a Second stand up and speak his Opinion, without reflecting on
E Him

Him that spoke before. Does another offer you better Advice? Pursue it, and may the Gods Second your Endeavours. But perhaps his Advice is not grateful? This proceeds from the difficult posture of your Affairs, but is not to be imputed as a Crime to the Speaker, unless he has Neglected to offer up his Seasonable Vows that things might Succeed otherwise. 'Tis an Easy thing, men of *Athens*, to comprize all good things in one wish. But in Critical Conjunctions of the State 'tis not Equally Easy at once to please you and give you good Advice. And in this case, if we cannot attain both, we ought to chuse rather what is for our good, than what will please us. Some may Object, would it not be better for us to let alone the Theatrical Money; and find out other ways of defraying the charges of the War. To this I should freely assent were it

it possible. But that man is a Fool to a Prodigy, who wastes what he has in Superfluous Vanities, and proposes to defray his Necessary Expences with Money he hopes to get hereafter, but does not know which way. What these men argue is equally Ridiculous, and has no otherwise Weight than as it is supported by the Byass of your own prejudiced Inclinations. There is nothing so Easy as for a Man to Impose on himself; and we are apt to judge those things Feasible that we strongly desire. But the strength of our Fancy is not able to change the Nature of things. Consider therefore, ye men of *Athens*, and resolve as the Condition of your Affairs requires, and you'll neither want Soldiers, nor Money to Pay them. No man that has any Wisdom, or Greatness of Soul, would contentedly bear the Reproach of having been the Cause of Miscarriage in the

War, for want of Money to carry it on, when ways and means to raise it were Obvious; or of having been forward for Wars with our Neighbours the *Corinthians* and *Megarensians*, and yet tamely Suffering King *Philip* to take the principal Cities of Greece one after another, for want of Necessary Provision for the Army.

I don't chuse to say these things to give you offence, and serve no good purpose, for I am neither so weak nor desperate, as to say what may be offensive to you, unless I knew it were for your good. But I think every Honest *Athenian* that is in my Post, should prefer the Preservation of the State before the vanity of Pleasing you with Sweet and deceitful words. For I have heard and perhaps it has not escap'd your knowledge, that the Orators in our Fore-fathers days, whom these Gentlemen praise, but don't imitate, Govern'd themselves by

by this Rule, and by this Principle in the Administration of the Publick Affairs. Such were the great *Aristides*, *Nicias*, *Pericles* and him who had the same Name with me. But since the time that a new sort of Orators is sprung up who use to ask you, what have you a mind to? What Bill shall I bring in? How may I oblige you? The most valuable Interests of the State have been Lavish'd away, to purchase you a short pleasure, and gratifie their Ambition of popularity. But to what does all this tend? They make their Fortunes, and the publick is in Shameful disorder. But O consider how different the Management of the State was, in the Days of your Ancestors, from what it is at present. My discourse on this Subject shall not be Tedious, and such wherewith you are well acquainted. For if you will tread in the Paths of your Fathers, 'tis sufficient to make you happy, nor need

you seek Foreign Examples to learn
 the ways of Wisdom. Those whom
 the Orators of old did not use to
 Flatter, as these Modern ones do
 you, were for Forty Five years,
 Masters of *Greece*, which willingly
 obey'd your easy Empire. They
 brought into our Treasury above
 ten Thousand Talents. The King
 of *Macedonia* was subject to them,
 as 'twas fit a Barbarian should be
 to Grecians. They won many Il-
 lustrious Victories both by Sea, and
 Land, serving in their own Persons
 and left behind them Glory, rais'd
 above the reach of Envy. Such
 were they with respect to the Gre-
 cians, in General, but if you consi-
 der them as *Athenians*, take notice
 how they behave themselves with
 Respect to the Publick, and their
 own private Affairs. With respect
 to the Publick, they were the Au-
 thors of all these stately Buildings,
 and Temples, that are the Orna-
 ments of our City, and of those
 Rich

Rich Gifts Consecrated in them, to which they have hardly left room to those that come after, to make any Addition. In their private Affairs they were such Religious observers of that Modest Simplicity, that was suitable to the Institutions of your Common-wealth, that if any of you will observe the Houses of *Aristides*, *Miltiades*, and the other Illustrious Men of that Age, he will find them in nothing different from those of their Neighbours. They did not intrude themselves into the Management of the publick, to raise Estates to their own Families, but every Man thought it his duty to advance the Common-wealth. Thus by their Faithful Management of the common State of *Greece*, their Piety towards the Gods, and their great Modesty in their private Affairs, they deservedly raise themselves to a high degree of Happiness.

This was the Glorious condition of our Ancestors when such Men as these Sate at the Helm of the Common-wealth. But now in what a Condition are you, under these Popular, and obliging Men; You are as Miserable as they were Happy; of this I might give you many Instances, but I shall choose to be Silent, where the Theme is Ungrateful. You see your Selves, in how Desolate a condition you are, tho' the *Lacedaemonians* are ruin'd, the *Thebans*, otherwise imploy'd, and no other State of *Greece* be able to Dispute the Sovereignty with us. And when we might have Maintain'd the possession of our own, and held the Balance in the Controversies of our Neighbors, we have Suffered our own Province to be taken from us, and Squandered away above Fifteen Hundred Talents to no manner of purpose; and those whom we gain'd to be our Allies in the War, have been
ruin'd

ruin'd by the Peace we have made. And besides all this, we have Arm'd so Powerful an Enemy as *Philip* against our selves. For I challenge any man living to prove that King *Philip* owes the Exorbitant Power that he has gain'd to any thing so much as our proceedings. But some may say, tho' there have been Miscarriages abroad, yet the City is in a better condition. As how pray? What! Because we have new Whited and Plaster'd the Forts, new Paved the Streets and repair'd the Aqueducts! These are all Trifles. Consider [the Men under whose Ministry these things have been done; some of whom have been rais'd from Beggary to great Estates, others from obscurity to the Highest Honours, and some of them have made their own Dwelling Houses more stately than the Publick Edifices. Their Riches and Greatness have increas'd in proportion to the decays of the Common-wealth. But to what

must we impute all these things,
 and why did all our Affairs prosper
 then, and Miscarry now? Because
 in former times, the People having
 the Courage to serve in the Wars
 themselves, were the Masters of the
 Magistrates, and had the disposal of
 the Publick Treasure, and of all Pre-
 ferments ; and the Greatest men
 were proud of any Charge, Office,
 Honour, or Boon at the Peoples Hands.
 But in our days, on the contrary,
 the Magistrates have the Disposal of
 all Rewards, and they do every
 thing. But, you the People, being
 Weakned, and Impoverished, and
 bereft of your Allies, are reduc'd
 to a State of dependance and Sla-
 very ; and are very well Satisfy'd
 if they give you a little Money to
 pay for a Seat in the Theatre, and
 present you now and then with a Bul-
 lock to Feast your selves withall.
 And what is most Vile and Scan-
 dalous, you own your Selves migh-
 tily

tily oblig'd to them for giving
 you what was your own before!
 Thus, cooping you up within the
 Walls of the City, they Subject you
 to these Condescensions, and Weedle
 you Tamely to bear their Imposi-
 tions. But is it possible that those
 can ever conceive Noble and Ge-
 nerous designs who Entertain them-
 selves with Servile and Abject Tri-
 fles? Since nothing is more cer-
 tain than that our Studies are al-
 waies suited to the Capacity of
 our own Souls. And now, I pro-
 test, I should not be Surprized,
 if I should Suffer more at your
 Hands, for Mentioning these things
 than those who have been the Au-
 thors of them. 'Tis not always
 you Allow the Liberty of speak-
 ing to you with so much Free-
 dom on every Subject, and I'm
 surpris'd you hear me at present
 with so much Patience. But if now
 at length you would Correct your
 past Errors, If you would your
 selves

selves go to the Wars ; If you
 would there behave your selves
 as became the Dignity of the *A-*
thenian People; If you wou'd re-
 solve to Imploy the Revenues of
 the State in Prosecuting these de-
 signs abroad, that might procure
 you safety. 'Tis possible, men of
Athens, and but possible, that you
 may yet perform something Great
 and Signal for the Benefit of this
 City; and be weaned from those
 little Presents that are but like the
 Food which Physicians allow their
 Patients. For as their Food does
 not increase the strength of the
 Patient, nor yet suffer him to die,
 so these little Advantages which
 you Enjoy are of no other use to you,
 but to divert you from the Pro-
 secution of Greater things, and lull
 you a Sleep in your Security. Some
 may say to me, do you Advise
 us then to serve in the Wars?
 Most certainly. And let an ac-
 count be presently taken of all the

Athenians, that every one may bear a part of the Publick Service, and have that share Assigned him, in which he may be most Serviceable to the State. If it were consistent with our Duty to stay Quietly at Home, it were more Eligible to do so, and be freed from the Temptation of Extream want by these Supplies. But if a War Happen to be Necessary, as 'tis at this time, this Money will serve for your Pay when you are exposing your persons in the defence of your Country. If any man be past the Age of Service, what he now receives in a disorderly manner, while he is useless to the Publick, that he will merit as the reward of his care in Supervising, and directing the Civil Affairs of the State. Thus without making any Material change in the present disposition of Affairs, I have put you in a way to set all things right in receiving the Publick Bounty, in
Or-

Ordering the *Militia*, and the Publick Judicature, having Assign'd a proper Work for every own According to his Age, and Capacity and the Publick Necessity. But you must Observe that I have by no means allow'd that the Rewards of Service should be given to those that do none. I would not have the Citizens of *Athens* stay at home in Sloth and Want, and Please themselves with the diversion of Reading in the Gazetts their own Victories obtained by Foreign Soldiers under I know not what Commander. For this is all our present Employment. I would not be Misunderstood in this Place, nor would I be thought to mean any Reflection against those who are Serving your State. But I grieve to see you give up to Foreigners the Glory of defending your Country, and Winning your Victories. I Grieve, *Athenians*, to see you Quit the Post of Virtue and Honour

nour which your Ancestors purchas-
ed with their Sword, and Blood,
and which they left to you as a
most Glorious Inheritance.

Thus I have propos'd my Ad-
vice without any Wilfull or Mate-
ral Omission; but 'tis your part to
take such Resolutions, as may be
of greatest Advantage to the Com-
mon-wealth in General, and of e-
very one of you in Particular.

The

Philip

I, **Philip**, the design of our
 Assembly were in order to a
 Debate upon some new Sub-
 ject, I had been silent till some
 others had spoke, and if they had
 propos'd any thing for the Advance-
 ment of the Publick Interest, I had
 willingly acquiesced; if the contrary
 I had taken the Freedom to offer
 my own Opinion, but that was
 contrary upon an Article that has
 been canvass'd already, I thought
 good I should give opportunity to
 the first that should rise upon the Con-
 sideration of the same.

The First

Philippick.

IF, *Athenians*, the design of our Assembling were in order to a Debate upon some new Subject, I had been silent till some others had spoke; and if they had propos'd any thing for the Advancement of the Publick Interest, I had willingly acquiesced; if the contrary, I had taken the Freedom to Offer my own Opinion, but since we are conven'd upon an Affair that has been canvas'd already, I cannot imagine I shall give offence by being the First that speaks upon this Conjunction, since 'tis Evident the necessity

cessity of our present Deliberations, implies the insufficiency of our past Measures.

However, *Athenians*, let not the Melancholy posture of our Affairs deject us, since what occasions the Disease directs the Cure: For if we were Satisfy'd we had already taken all Necessary Precautions, I must own, Patience would be the only remedy left to recommend: But on the Contrary, I advise you to reflect on what you cannot be Ignorant of, I mean with how great Zeal for your Liberty and Regard for your Honour You formerly Suppress'd the growing Power of *Lacedamon*. The reason why I remind you of this is, that when you consider how much your Vigour has contributed to restrain the *Lacedamonians*, and your inactivity to Aggrandize *K. Philip*, you may be sensible there is nothing you ought not to expect from your Vigilance,

giance, or apprehend from your Insensibility.

If *Philip* shou'd seem so Formidable as to make you conclude 'twou'd be difficult to succeed against him; I confess I shou'd be of your opinion; but you must also allow, that when we were Masters of *Pydna*, *Potidea*, *Metbone*, and the Countries all around; If *Philip* then weak in himself and without Allies, had Disponded of Success against the *Athenians*, possess'd at that time of the most Important Places of *Macedonia*, he had never attempted an Enterprize wherein He has but too Fortunately Succeeded, nor had He ever arriv'd at that Pitch of Grandeur you see him in at present. But he knew too well, the Strongest places would be theirs that had most Resolution to carry 'em, and that the Fortunes of all those that avoided Danger, wou'd quickly be in the Power of those that durst meet it.

These

These are the Maxims have blown him up to this Prodigious height: So that he either Rules universally as a Conqueror, or Governs as a Protector. For mankind generally seek the Alliance of such, as they Judge are neither wanting to others nor themselves; If therefore *Athenians*, you'd resolve on new Measures, and have nothing in view but the Publick good; If the Rich wou'd contribute with their Fortunes, and the Young with their Persons; If you'd forbear to expect ev'ry thing from others, without concurring in any thing your selves, We might by the Assistance of the Gods, reduce *Philip* to be thought as inconsiderable in *Attica*, as he's at present Formidable in *Macedonia*.

You must not think that good Fortune is essential to him as Attributes to a God; he's Hated as well as Fear'd; nay even those that are in his Alliance, are no more Cordially

dially for him, than those that are out of it ; and if they Act under a Masque, 'tis because your Stupidity discourages 'em from taking it off. I hope e're long you'll be convinc'd how far the Arrogance of this Man transports him. He'll neither at present let Peace or War be in your Choice. His Language (they say) is Insolent, he's not content with his past Ufurpations, but is daily forming some new designs, and as you never open your own Eyes, so he never shuts his.

When therefore will you come to your selves? will it be when some new Calamity happens, or when Necessity Alarms you? But pray with what Thoughts can you look back on your former Miscarriages? In my mind a Sence of Mismanagement ought to be the greatest Move to a generous Spirit, to attempt some Redress; but instead of that, you are still Sauntring in all Publick places, and Enquiring of e-very

very one you meet after News, as if there cou'd be any more Surprising than that one Single *Macedonia* gives Law to all *Greece*. *Philip* is Dead, says one : No says another he's only Sick ; Gods ! and why Sirs are you Solicitous whether he be or no ? If some Accident should deliver you from one *Philip*, Your ill Conduct wou'd soon Create you another : Since he owes not his Grandeur to his own Activity, but to your indolence ; for tho' Fortune should open us the Gates of *Amphipolis*, our Irresolution wou'd shut 'em.

I shall insist no longer on reminding you of your duty, because I hope you are convinc'd of it already. 'Tis now time to propose to you a Scheme of such Preparations as are Necessary for your Security ; and also to settle a number of Troops and the Funds for their Subsistence. I beg you won't anticipate what I have to say, but that you'll suspend your Opinion, till I've made an

end, and that you won't mistake my Circumspection for Prolixity. For such as cry immediately to Arms, without laying down a Plan of the War, are fitter to Execute than Advise.

'Tis certain our Imprudence has expos'd us too much, and he that is most capable of Directing you in the carrying on a Vigorous War, or the Securing an Honorable Peace, is the Person you ought Soonest to harken to. I shall give you my own project without expecting to have others excluded from doing the same; so after You've heard it you may reject it or approve of it as you shall think fit.

I Believe therefore You ought to begin with the fitting out of Fifty Gallies, and to resolve to go aboard Your selves, You must have besides several Sail of ships to Transport some Squadrons of Horse where you shall think convenient; as also a good number of Storeships for
Your

your Ammunition and Provision. You must always be in readiness to receive the Enemy whether He moves towards *Thermopylae*, *Chersonesus*, *Olynthus*. or any were else: Thus He'll find you are at last awake, and that He'll meet with the same *Athenians* He found at *Eubaea*, *Haliartus*, and last at *Thermopylae*, when'ere he shall think fit to make the Tryal.

But suppose he shou'd not altogether act as I direct, we shall at least have one of these Advantages by putting our selves into a Posture; Either *Philip* being inform'd of your Military preparations (for he has a Correspondence in the very Heart of your Senate) will out of a distrust of his own Strength be for an Accommodation; Or else if He shou'd give no credit to his Intelligence, He'll be the less Cautious Himself and his whole Country more Expos'd.

What

What I have propos'd I hope you'll Judge necessary, as also a Flying Camp to Fatigue the Enemy, but let the Army be compos'd of some Citizens, rather then Forreigners altogether, since they are less Mutinous, and under better Discipline.

I shall now speak of the number of Troops, where they must Serve, and how be Subsisted ; I am sensible how Generous you are in your Votes, and how Penurious in your Supplies ; you Grudge necessities, but you'll promise Superfluities, you had much better be more Moderate ; begin first with reasonable Levies, and encrease 'em as occasion shall require. I wou'd have you raise two Thousand men, of which let there be Five Hundred Effective *Athenians*, who from time to time, may be reliev'd from hence by their Fellow-Citizens ; the rest of the Body may be compos'd of Mercenaries, I wou'd also have Two Hundred Horse, of which let Fifty be *Athenians* and on the same Establishment with the Infantry. There

F must

must be Transport Ships too for their
 convenience, with ten Gallies that are
 good Sailers. *Philip* has a Fleet, and
 therefore a Convoy must be thought
 upon for the Security of your Troops:
 The reason why I ask so few is, because
 'twou'd be impossible to raise a Force
 on a sudden sufficient to give Battle.
 'Tis therefore better to be upon the De-
 fensive, and to Act in Parties. Besides, a
 handful of men are the more easily Sub-
 sisted. I wou'd have the Fleet consist
 partly of Citizens, and partly Stran-
 gers. You may remember, that when
 you went in Person to *Corinth*, and
 Joyned the Auxiliaries under the
 Command of *Polystratus*, *Iphycrates* and
Chabrias; it was by this method you
 made the *Lacedemonians* sensible you
 had not forgot to be *Athenians*:
 But since our Army have been made
 up of nothing but Forreigners, instead of
 Gaining Victories over our Enemies,
 they Triumph over our Friends, and are
 their own Masters, and not our Ser-
 vants. If they appear in Campaign, it
 is to go over to *Artabasus*, or to any
 place

place but *Athens*, nor can we blame their General, for as soon as he ceases to Pay, he ceases to Command.

Now the way to Remedy these Mis-carriages, is to see that both Officers and Souldiers, duly have their Pay, and to appoint some of your Citizens to inspect their Behaviour. Indeed at present we are under a strange Management. If some body shou'd Ask you, Gentlemen, are you in Peace? No Sir, you'll Answer, we are at War with *Philip*, han't we at present Ten Generals in our Service, several Lieutenant-Generals, and two Commanders of Horse. And pray except one, what service do the rest? Why they March at the Head of our Processions, they distinguish themselves at our Festival Solemnities, and the Blood of each Sacrifice is a Trophy of their Bravery.

The truth on't is, you are under a most Extraordinary conduct, your Officers it seems are for Show, and not for Service. You send to the relief of *Lemnos* your General of Horse, who's a Citizen,

tizen, and you leave the Defence of your Country to *Menelaus* a Stranger, not that I have any objection to *Menelaus*, further then that I think no body can be Legally a Commander, who is not constituted so by you.

I shall therefore now attempt to make an estimate of what Supply may be necessary for the bare Subsistence of our Troops, and am of Opinion it need not much exceed Ninety Talents. There must be Assign'd for the Ten Light Ships, Forty Talents, which will be Twenty Mina's a Month each Galliey. The Two Thousand Foot will require Forty Talents more, that is, to each Fantasin Ten Drachms a Month: And for the Two Hundred Horse, there must be allow'd Twelve Talents, which will be Thirty Drachma's a Month each. If any thou'd think this Allowance too Scanty, they are in the wrong. I am perswaded our bare pay would Subsist us without any Free Quarter upon our selves or Allies, I would undertake this Expedition upon

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on these Terms, and be answerable for the Success, and shall now go upon ways and means for raising Supplies.

Here Demosthenes gives in his projects for Funds, and then goes on. You have heard my proposals *Athenians*, and after you have considered them, I hope you'll come to some Conclusion, that you may at last make War upon the Enemy with Fire and Sword, and not with frivolous Debates, and insignificant Votes, and that you may do it effectually peruse well the Chart of the Country you design for the Seat of War. Reflect on the Enemies Methods, and you'll find he ow'd his Success to his Head, as well as to his Hands. He took care too be too Early for us in the Field, and always to have the Winds and Seasons on his Side, and the Winter that wou'd not suffer us to be in Action, wou'd not Suffer him to be in repose.

These Considerations shou'd Teach us how much we ought to prefer a Regular and Disciplin'd Army, to a Raw and unexperienc'd one ; and how far
we

we shou'd be solicitous about Winter Quarters ; *Lemnos*, *Thase*, *Sciathus*, and the Islands thereabouts will be convenient for that purpose; There are Ports, Magazines of Corn, and all other Necessaries. Your General will take care of the rest, but do you inspect his Actions and your own Accounts, and things will Succeed better then they have done hitherto : The Enemy will not always be able to make War upon us with the Prizes he takes from our Allies, nor hurrie away our Citizens in Chains, as at *Imbros* and *Lemnos*, nor Surprise our Fleet as at *Gereftus*, nor carry off our consecrated Gally as at *Marathon*.

But pray, Sirs, why are your Bacchanals and your Feasts of *Minerva* so duely observ'd, and the fitting out your Fleet so shamefully neglected ? Nothing so Magnificent as the first, nothing so ill Equipp'd as the last : Your Publick Solemnities, under what direction soever, are in Readiness precisely at the time ; but in your Naval Expeditions, as those of *Methone*, *Potidea*,

dea, and *Pagasa*, your Succours arrive after the reduction of the Places. And for this the Reason's obvious, Ev'ry body knows his Duty in regard of the First; but in what Relates to the last, no Body. In your Feasts, Ev'ry thing's concerted, Ev'ry thing Adjusted, but in your Military preparations, Ev'ry thing's undetermin'd, ev'ry thing unadvis'd. When we hear the Enemy's in motion, immediately Commanders of our Gallies are appointed; *Aliens* and such as are Enfranchis'd are list'd, then we must Consult about raising Subsidies; By and by our Citizens go aboard; Thus we protract time till the whole Expedition is frustrated, and our Fleet puts to Sea after our Countrey's Invaded.

Here he produces a Letter of Philip to the Eubæans, to show the Insolence of his Stile, and then proceeds.

What you have heard *Athenians* is not so agreeable as 'tis True, if the Concealing

cealing of ungrateful Truths cou'd but remove the ill consequences they touch upon, then the Harangue that pleas'd you best, would profit you most. But fine Speeches are no longer so, when they are unseasonable. If they set our Calamities at a distance they only retard our precaution in providing against 'em, and 'tis better to prevent then Redress them.

You must be sensible, *Athenians*, you are Stronger both at Sea and Land, then any other State, nor are you in want of any thing, but the will to make use of what is already in your Power; but instead of doing that, you fight King *Philip* like a sort of Gladiators, that have neither Courage to hurt the Adversary, nor defend themselves; but instead of warding the Blow, still clap their hands upon the Wound. If you hear the Enemy has made a Descent into *Chersonesus*, immediately you resolve to throw in some Troops there: By and by you have Advice of his being at the *Pyle*; then
on

on a suddain you March thither :
 Anon you hear of him elsewhere ; then
 you resolve, without any more ado, to
 be at his heels. Thus you follow him
 Officiously as your General ; whereas
 you ought to meet him Bravely as
 your Enemy.

These Reflections make me conclude, some Guardian Power that Protects *Athens*, inspires King *Philip*, with an Ambition that must destroy him. For if he wou'd but be content with the peaceable Enjoyment of what he unjustly possesses, and not continually attempt new Incurfions I dare say, there are some amongst you wou'd be willing to acquiesce in your present Infamy. But the best on't is, his Ambition knows no bounds, and every day some new Usurpation convinces you his Thirst of Power is unquenchable. At first you thought your selves oblig'd to make War upon *Philip*; but at present, your only concern is least he should make War upon you. Is it your Opinion, Sirs, you ought to be Neutral at
 this

this Juncture? Don't you think it reasonable you shou'd immediately Man out your Fleet? And suppose we shou'd, you'll say, whither shou'd we go? Do but once Embarque, and not only your own Honour, but the Circumstances of the Enemy will show you the way. But Instead of that, you are still clashing in your Assemblies, and your only business is Clamorous Invectives and Groundless Impeachments.

I am satisfy'd, the same Providence that watches over *Athens*, will never desert you in any Enterprize, you shall go upon, but when you appoint only one General, with doubtful Orders, and an imperfect Commission, you must necessarily miscarry; such Expeditions are the Jest of your Enemies and the dissatisfaction of your Friends. 'Tis impossible one Man can execute what you all Command. He'll promise you wonders, and will not fail to Charge his want of Success on some body else. But how is this to be remedied? Let some of you serve in Person, first be

Witnesses

Witnesses of the behaviour of your General, and then return Home to be his Judges. For 'tis come to this pass, that some of your Officers choose rather to venture their Lives twice at a Court Marshal then once in the Field, and stick not to prefer an Infamous Death to an Honourable one; and indeed they are in the right, for the Criminal ought to die by the Hand of the Hangman, but the Man of Honour, by that of the Enemy.

Now pray, Sirs, let us but examin what 'tis we are doing at this critical juncture, truly nothing, but hearkning to ev'ry trifling Story, and ridiculous Rumour. One reports that *Philip* is in a Confederacy with the *Latedemonians* against *Thebes*, and some other Republicks. Another, that he's in Treaty with the King of *Persia*. A third, that he's Fortifying some Towns in *Illyria*. A fourth, has some new Chymeras. But as to my self, I think him so Drunk with his past success, that he thinks nothing impossible to his future Attempts

tempts. Instead therefore of busying our Thoughts about what he designs to do, let us reflect on what he has already done, and we shall be convinc'd, that if we refuse to make War upon him Abroad, he'll do it upon us at Home.

Thus, Gentlemen, I have given you my thoughts; you know I had rather that my Harangues shou'd be for your use, than for your Entertainment. I could wish that my Advice may prove no less Advantagious to the Person that gives it, than to those that receive it. If I had not consider'd the Publick, more than my own Private Interest, I had urg'd things with less Vehemence. I knew the result of what I had to say would be doubtful, but because I was satisfy'd it would be for your Advantage to hearken, I resolv'd not to be silent; and I hope that Advice which is for the general good, will at last prevail.

The

(80)

The Second

ORATION

OF

Demosthenes,

Against

PHILIP.

The ARGUMENT.

This Oration is in some places Obscure, by reason that the passages, of the Reign of King Philip, to which it relates, are lost. The occasion of it was This, Philip, after other encroachments upon the People of Greece, was now in League with the Messenians and Argives, to in-

G

vade

vade the Lacedæmonians, and had sent an Embassadour to Athens, with those of his Confederates, to Justify his proceedings; the Athenians, being loath to break with Philip, or to see the Lacedæmonians ruin'd were at a loss how to Answer their Embassadors. Demosthenes undertakes to do it; but at the same time puts them in mind, that it was the Peace which they had concluded with Philip, at the perswasion of Æschines, which occasion'd this difficulty. He do's not only blame him, but taxes the other Orators for their timorousness, and the People for their remissness. He inveighs bitterly against Philip, (whom he never vouchsafes to mention as a King) and for his sake speaks hardly of Monarchy it self. But whosoever shall consider what a frightful image he gives of the Athenian Common-Wealth, in almost all his Orations, will find but little reason to be fond of that form of Government.

The

The Second ORATION,

Against

P H I L I P.

NOwithstanding that those who spoke before, have sufficiently prov'd the Justice, and great Moderation of your proceedings, and that *Philip* has broken the Articles of Peace, from the time it bears date to this very day, (and indeed all which has been offer'd on this Subject, has been receiv'd with general approbation,) yet so little is *done* in pursuance of these Discourses, that I cannot imagine to what purpose you heard them with such attention: all our Affairs are still in such a Confusion, that by how much the more plainly it is made appear, That he has not only violated the Peace, but form'd designs against the Liberty of all the *Gracians*, by so much more diffi-

difficult it is to Advise you, in this
 critical Occasion. The reason is, that we
 generally mis-time our Consultations.
 For it is not, Gentlemen, by *Words*,
 but by *Actions*, it is not by force of *Ar-*
guments, but of *Arms*, that such un-
 heard of Insolencies ought to be re-
 press'd. But this is so tender a Point
 that your Councillors dare not touch
 upon it, least that by disturbing your
 quiet, they shou'd incur your Displea-
 sure, and therefore meanly content
 themselves, by making Invectives a-
 gainst his Perfidiousnes, his Injustice
 and Oppression. And thus it comes to
 pass, that both they, and you who sit
 here, in Council, are much better qua-
 lified to Vindicate your selves by *Ar-*
guments, and Reasons, than to de-
 mand Satisfaction, and Stop the Pro-
 gress of his continual Usurpations:
 CommonSence, and Experience shews
 us, that every man excells in that
 which he *Studies*, and *Practises*, with
 greatest Application: And therefore it
 is no wonder if he much Surpass you
 in *Dispatch*, and *Execution* ; as you
 Excel

Excel him in the Art of *Composing*, or *Judging* of Popular Orations. But if it would answer your purpose to discourse Fluently of the Obligation of Oaths, of the Laws of *Nature*, and of *Nations*; you are indeed very well provided, you might Encounter any Adversary at this sort of Weapons; but if it be our Business at present, and concerns us as much as our Safety is worth, to stop the Growth of His Power, least it Rise insensibly to such a Pitch, as that we shall not be able to stemm the Torrent, it is High time to dismiss these fine Speculations, and both *Speaker* and *Hearers* must prefer the *Solid*, and *Necessary* part, to that which is only *Plausible* and *Diverting*.

In the first Place therefore, if there be any one, so easie of beleif, as not to apprehend the Fatal Consequences of this Formidable greatness of *Philip*, especially to this State (against which his designs are Principally Level'd) I cannot but wonder at that Man's Security. I Fear *For him* who is *Not* in Fear for the *Public*

in this Juncture. I request therefore the Favour of your attention, whilst I briefly, lay before you the reasons why I look upon *Philip*, as our most Dangerous Enemy : If it shall appear that I see further into these matters, than those who differ from Me, you will come over to my Opinion, if not, you may follow those, who have such Honorable thoughts of His Justice, and Integrity.

I will begin with a few Remarks upon the First attempt he made, Immediately after the Ratification of the Peace : and that was the seizing the Important pass of the *Pylæ*, and the Possessing himself, of the *Phocæa* : this done ; I enquire what use he made of his new acquisition ? To which of the States of *Greece*, did he chiefly endeavor to Recommend himself, after so Considerable an Accession of Power ? Did he not seek all Occasions of Gratifying the *Thebans* (none of your best Friends) in Preference to you ? and wherefore did he this ? It was not purely to give you a Mortification, he had

had much greater designs in it: Having no regard for the Peace, and Quiet of the World, nor for the Laws of Justice, or Equity, but Aspiring to nothing less, than *Absolute*, and *Universal Empire*, he wisely consider'd that you were no proper Confederats in an Enterprize of that Nature : he saw plainly that neither the Nature of our Government, nor the *Genius* of our People, nor the constant Practise of this State in all Ages, would ever permit you to betray the meanest City of *Greece*, whatever Proposals or Promises he could make : But on the Contrary, out of a true sence of Justice, and Honour, and seasonable foresight of the Ill Consequences of so Base an Action, you would oppose him with as much Earnestness, and Vigour, as if the War had been already declar'd.

But he had a much different Opinion, of the *Thebans*, (nor was he mistaken in his Conjecture) that they would never disquiet themselves at his Encroachments, and Depredations, if

they could come in for some small Share of the Booty : Upon that Condition, they would be so far from Molesting him, or Opposing his designs, that they would be Ready to Joyn him with all their Forces, upon the first Summons.

In the like manner, (and to the same end) he at this time Courts, and Caresses the *Messenians*, and *Argives*. But this seeming Neglect, *Athenians*, redounds highly to your Honour, and Glory : 'Tis an Authentic proof of the Secret Veneration he has for your Virtue, and Generosity : 'Tis a Testimony from an *Enemy*, that he looks upon you as the only People of *Greece*, that would not give up the *Common Cause* for the greatest particular Considerations : Nor admit of any Equivalent for the general welfare of *Greece*.

This opinion which he has conceiv'd both of you, and of the *Thebans* and *Argives* is confirm'd not only by the present Conduct of the Parties concern'd, but by many notorious

torious Instances in History. For,
 (as much Barbarian as *Philip* is)
 he has heard, at least, if he has not
 Read, that when one of his Predeces-
 sors, *Alexander* by name, was sent
 hither by the Great King, with full
 Power to offer you, or rather your
 Ancestors, the Sovereignty of all *Greece*,
 upon Condition that they would
 do Homage to him, they had hard-
 ly Patience to hear such a Proposal :
 But chose unanimously, to forsake
 their Native Country, to abandon
 their Houses, and Temples to the
 Flames, and undergo the greatest
 Extremities, rather than be Masters
 of all *Greece* upon such dishonora-
 ble Terms. Supported by such an
Heroic Magnanimity they perform'd
 those many glorious Exploits, which
 so many *Historians*, and *Panegirists*,
 have endeavour'd to describe, but
 none could ever do it with that Force,
 and Majesty, which so great a Sub-
 ject requires : We have neither
 Words, nor *Conceptions*, equal to their
Performances : And therefore I pass
 G 4 them

them by with silent Veneration. But how different was the conduct of the *Thebans*, and *Argives*, in that Perilous occasion ! In short they either stood wholly Neuters, or joyn'd their Forces with those of the *Barbarian*.

He therefore understands perfectly the Character of both People: He knew that he should have an easie purchase of those, who had no other measure of *Right* and *Wrong*, but their own *Interest*: but that an Alliance with you would be clog'd with a great many heavy Incumbrances: which he by no means could endure. You would have serv'd him so far as *Justice*, and due regard to the common good would permit, and no further. What should *Philip* do with Friends of that nice, and scrupulous temper? But the *Thebans*, he was assur'd, would stick at nothing; They would not only *Wear*, but even *Forge* their own Fetters. This is the true Reason why he prefer'd their Friendship to yours for he is not so ill inform'd as to believe that

that they have a greater Fleet than that of this State; nor is he so very well satisfy'd with his *Inland* Dominions, as to despise the great Advantages, accruing by Traffic, and the Sovereignty of the Seas. Nor (tho' he seems wholly to have forgot the *Articles*) has he yet forgot with what submissions, he obtain'd the late Peace.

But some one perhaps, will object in this place, that tho' *Philip* was apprised of all this, yet I maliciously assign a false reason of his proceedings: and that it was upon a Principle of Justice, not Ambition, that he preferr'd the Amity of the *Thebans* to yours.

But this is the most unlikely pretence that could be alleg'd, and especially by *Philip*, at this time of day: For with what face can he who at this time Commands the *Lacedaemonians* to quit *Messana*, and a little before delivered up *Orchomenus*, and *Coronaa* to the *Thebans*, how can he, I say, pretend to do this out of a principle of Justice?

But they will say he was constrain'd to do it much against his Will. (For this is the only Excuse which is left for him) He was so press'd upon by the *Theban* Infantry on the one side, and by the *Theſſalian* Horſe on the other, that it was not in his power to do otherwiſe. This is a very likely matter indeed ! Do they therefore pretend that he begins to diſtruſt, or is upon ill Terms with the *Thebans* ? Some of our wiſe Novelliſts indeed run about with ſuch Stories : And bear us in hand that he intends to Fortifie *Elateia* ; and yet how much ſoever he may be ſaid to *Intend* it, I dare engage he will never perform it : But I will tell you, not what he *Intends* but what he is now *Doing*. He joyns with the *Meſſenians* and *Argives*, to Invade *Lacedæmon* : He furniſhes them with Money and Men : himſelf too is expected in their Camp with a formidable Army. And can any one believe ſuch inconfiſtences, as that he who ſo cruelly perſecutes the *Lacedæmonians*, merely becauſe they are Enemies, to the
The.

Thebans would reestablish the *Phœceans* in *Elateia*, whom, not long since, he has ruin'd? For my own part I cannot conceive, that if what he did before was by compulsion, or if he despair'd of the Steadiness of the *Thebans* to his Service, that he would Fight their Battels, or express, upon all occasions, so much Zeal for their Interests. It appears therefore plainly by his Proceedings at this present that what he did before was not the effect of *Necessity*, but *Choice*.

But his *Real* design, (how much soever he may disguise it, by these Fictions, and Pretences, by his frequent Marches and Counter-marches) is the Ruine of this Common-Wealth; The violences he has already Committed, put him under a sort of Necessity of attempting it, nor can he think himself Safe till it be effected: Consider I pray you, what is his prevailing Passion? It is Dominion, It is Empire: And he looks upon you, as his only Antagonists, and Obstacles in his way
to

to it. He has treated you most injuriously for a long time; his Conscience tells him so: Nor could he enjoy the Fruit of his other Usurpations, unless he keep possession of those Places, which (contrary to his Oath) he has wrested from You. For if once you should recover *Amphipolis*, and *Potidea*, out of his hands, himself would be as unsafe in *Macedon*, as you, at this time, are at *Athens*. He knows therefore very well, both that he has given you the Highest provocations, and that you are Sensible of his Intrigues, and Practices against you. Nor do's he think you so mean Spirited, and tame, as to let things go off in this Fashion: But taking it for granted that you only wait for a favorable opportunity to express your Resentments, he improves all occasions to take from you the *Power*, since he can no longer doubt of your *Will*, and fix'd purpose of doing it. There is nothing so Vigilant and Active, as Wickedness Detected: and therefore he observes, and Watches, all your Motions: He Strengthens

Strenghtens himself with Alliances, Careffes, and Bribes, the *Thebans*, and such *Cities* of the *Peloponese* whose *Avarice* disposes them to sit down contented with any present Advantage: or whose *natural Stupidity*, and *corrupt manners*, render them incapable of foreseeing the sad Consequences of such Engagements.

We have very plain Instances of this before our Eyes, no man of common Sense can plead Ignorance of the matter of Fact: I will go no further then barely to relate to you a Conversation I had, not long since, with the *Messenians* and *Argives*, the relation of it is more pertinent, than I could wish, to our Circumstances at this present. I spoke to them to this effect.

What think you, *Messenians*, of the People of *Olynthus*, would they not have taken it very unkindly, if one shou'd have said any thing to] the Prejudice of *Philip*, at that time, when he gave them so many signal Demonstrations of his Affection?

on ? When he had newly put into their Hands *Anthimus*, an ancient Domaine of the *Macedonian* Kings, had annex'd *Potidæa* to their Territory, and expell'd the *Athenian* Colony out of the place, to make room for them, reserving nothing to himself, in all appearance, but only the resentments of the Parties Injur'd, but leaving to them all the Profits of that place, and its dependancies ? Would they then have suspected such a sudden, and sad reverse of their Prosperity, or have believ'd one who should have warn'd them of it ?

No, they would not have believ'd it.

And yet (as I continu'd) they pay'd very dear for this liberality of *Philip* : They enjoy'd for a very short space, the Revenues of a Country Usurp'd from the rightful Proprietors, but they are Banish'd from their own Native Country for ever ; Betray'd by one another in the most infamous manner ; Subdu'd, Sold, till they became the
Drug

Drug of all Markets ; expos'd to the Gallies, and the Rack, and learn'd by Dear-bought experience, the certainty of this Maxim, that, *The too great Intimacy of Commonwealths with Tyrants, always proves Fatal to the Liberty of the former.*

What think you of the *Thessalians*? Would they too, have believ'd that their Constitution would be subverted, and they new model'd into Arbitrary *Tetrarchies*, by that very Man, who a little before, had expell'd their *other Tyrants*, had newly restor'd to them the Cities of *Nisæa* and *Magnesia*, that he, I say, who had made them a present of *Polea*, (which never belong'd to them) would have depriv'd them of their Ancient Revenues, their Fortunes, and Liberties? They would never have believ'd it ; and yet all this came to pass, every body knows it.

I apply this to you, Gentlemen, of *Messana* : You have seen *Philip* in his Promising, in his giving vein and humour ; you have begun too, to
tast

tast of his Perfidiousness, and Violence: Take warning therefore by your Neighbours Calamities: Have him, for the future, in the highest detestation; abhor the very sight and name of Him. *The Societies of Men have, indeed, invented a great many means for their better Security: such as Walls, Ditches, Ramparts and the like: All which Defences are, rais'd with great Labour, and Kept in Repair with continual Expence: But there is one cheap and never failing preservative in the Breast of all considerate persons, which is highly useful to private men but indispensably necessary for Common-Wealths, which have the ill fortune to be Situated in the Neighbourhood of Tyrants: What is that? Circumspection, and Distrust. Carry this Amulet always about with you: Never part with it upon any terms: So long as you keep it you are safe.*

What is it that you aim at? No doubt it is Liberty; and do you not perceive that not only the Nature, but even the very Title of Philip
im-

implys a direct contradiction to Freedom? Every such King, as he is, every Tyrant, at least, is a *Natural Enemy of Liberty*, and Subverter of *Laws*. You desire earnestly an end of this expensive, and bloody War: but weigh well the consequences, least it prove upon Trial, not so much an *End of the War*, as a *Beginning of your Slavery*.

This is the Sum of what I said at that time: They receiv'd it with applause, and even with (troublesome) acclamations: it was press'd upon 'em by the other Embassadors, and by several others afterwards: and yet after all they will not be prevail'd upon to break Friendship with *Philip*; or to forbear giving credit to his deluding Promises.

But it is no such matter of Wonder if the *Messenians*, and some few *Peloponnesians*, should either mistake, or act contrary to their true Interest: but That, you, *Athenians*, men of such Parts and Penetration, who have

have been so often warn'd from this place, and at this time by me, that the designs form'd against you are ripe for Execution, that the battering Engins are brought up under your very Walls, that you shou'd sit thus Idly in this perilous Juncture, is to me matter of Astonishment, but to you a Presage, or rather Cause of inevitable ruine.

There is nothing so wretched in humane Nature, as this unaccountable Humour, of Preferring a little Dear-bought Ease, and present Pleasure, to their own Happiness, and that of their Posterity. But you will take the means of your Safety into Consideration as soon as you shall Rightly understand the State of your Affairs.

I should now tell you, what answer ought to be return'd to these Embassadors: Which would have been a much easier Task, if you had proceeded more Warily in some former Votes, and Resolutions: But before that be done, it were but just

just that some Persons should be call'd to *Answer* for themselves: I mean those who deluded you with great Expectations, if you would Condescend to Sign the late unhappy Treaty of Peace: For neither would I have gone Ambassador on that occasion, nor would you have Disbanded the Army, if you had foreseen how great Advantages *Philip* would have made of it: But sure I am, that the Event was very different from the Positive Assurances which those Gentlemen, then gave us.

There is another sort of Men whom I would have call'd to a strict Account? Who are they? You may please to Remember that when I return'd from my second Embassy, to Exchange the Ratifications of the Peace, perceiving that we were grossly Impos'd upon, I openly protested against this Peace, and Conjur'd you not to let *Philip* become Master of the Pass, and the *Phocææ*, but a sort of Men there was
(and

(and it is those whom I would have Impeach'd) who Ridicul'd me as a difficult, and Morose sort of Man, (and what better could be Expected from an Abstemious Water-Drinker?) and therefore not to be harken'd to on this Occasion; but they would Engage, provided you would grant to *Philip*, a Passage thro' those Places; that you should find him as Tractable as your selves could desire: That he would Fortify *Thespie*, and *Phocaa*, would curb the Insolence of the *Thebans*, would Finish the cut thro' the *Chersonese*, at his own Cost, and Charges, and give you nothing less than the Island of *Eubaa*, and *Oropus*, by way of Exchange for *Amphipolis*: All these fine Stories were not long Since told you, from this very Place; they are too Remarkable to be forgotten, tho' you have very *Complaisant Memories*, when the Grosest Impostures, and Indignities are put upon you.

But

But the most unhappy Circumstance of all is, that the Pernititious Effects of this Accursed Treaty do not determine with our own Lives, but besides the ill Prospect they give us, for our time, extend by your solemn Decree, to Posterity: So miserably have you been Circumvented in this whole Affair. But you will demand, why I reckon up these Miscarriages, and would have those Persons Impeach'd so long after? I will tell you the true Reason without any manner of Reserve, and I invoke Heaven to be Witness of my Sincerity: It is not that I seek Honour to my self, by Wranglings, and Accusations; I rather abhor 'em, if not Absolutely Necessary: much less would I give occasion to my old Friends, the Pensioners of *Philip*, to demand of him, fresh remittances of Money, in Consideration of the great Risque they run upon his account; and least of all, that I Love to hear my self Talk, But because I am Convinc'd,
that

that this Exorbitant Power of *Philip* will occasion infinitely greater trouble, in process of time, than it do's at this present. The Cloud thickens daily; the Storm seems ready to break over our Heads: I wish heartily that I may be mistaken; but if my Prædiction should be verifi'd, if the day come when you shall not be inform'd by this, or that Councillour, in how sensible a manner this growth of *Philip* touches you, but see and feel it your selves, you will then grow uneasy, difficult, and enrag'd: Then, perhaps, these unhappy Instruments of your misfortunes, silenc'd with a sense of their guilt, and fearing the just rewards of their Treason, will think of *withdrawing*: nor am I, in that case, without apprehensions, that your resentments may fall upon those who had no other end, but only to recover if possible what these men had *Lost*: People whose affairs are in the utmost disorder seldom look out (as they ought) for the true Authors

thors of their sufferings, but are ready to discharge their Spleen and Passion, upon the First man that comes in their way.

Since therefore *Philip* gives us a little respite, and our affairs and minds, are in some tolerable, consistency, so that we can yet calmly debate matters amongst our selves, I desire you to recollect, who was that good and wise *Patriot*, who advis'd you to give up the *Passe*, and the *Phocæa* to *Philip*: which concession of yours has put it intirely into his Power either to fall in upon the *Peloponnese*, or to march directly hither. So that we can no longer sit here at our ease, as formerly, to arbitrate, and compose differences betwixt the several Estates of *Greece*, or consult about foreign affairs, but are reduc'd to a necessity of providing for our selves, and securing our own Country from Invasion, and Ruin. When this shall come to pass, tho' the concern of some amongst you may then begin, the Blow was given, in effect, when that Accursed Treaty of Peace was Concluded. If you
had

had not been so miserably deluded in that Affair, you might have been the Happiest People in the World at this day. For neither would *Philip* have had such a naval Strength, as to think of making a Descent upon your Territory; nor could he have Invaded you by Land, whilst you had the *Pyla* and *Phocæa* for a Rampart to cover you. He (notwithstanding the restlessness of his Temper) would have been forc'd to sit still, and observe the Rules of Justice and Moderation, or would quickly have found himself engag'd in such another War, as the last, which Constrain'd him to Solicit for Peace with so much Importunity.

This may suffice to refresh your memories, for the present: But I pray all the Gods that there never may be occasion of examining into these matters with the utmost severity, and rigour. For I would not have *any one punish'd, how great a criminal soever he may be, if it cannot be done without detriment, and danger to the public.*

The

King
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The Third

Philippick.

THO' much have been said,
Men of *Athens*, almost in
every Assembly concern-
ing the Injuries which
King *Philip* has done, not only to
you, but to the other *Greeks* since
he made Peace. And tho' it be a-
greed by all (I am confident of it)
even by those who do not Act as
they ought, that 'tis incumbent on
every Man, to direct his Words
and Actions towards repressing and
Chastising this Man's Insolence, I see
notwithstanding our Affairs brought
to such a Pass, by our Mismanage-
ment,

ment, that I fear it may be said with Truth, how disagreeably soever it may sound to you, That should all your Orators, and your selves have conspired, they to Propose, and you to Enact what were most Pernicious, our Condition could not be worse than it now is. This ill State of our Affairs, may be ascribed to many Causes, for One or Two could never thus have ruined them, but upon Inquiry, you will find a Principal one to be, the Corruption of your Speakers, who chuse rather to propose what will be most pleasing to you, than useful to the State. Some of them, *Athenians*, if they can but secure to Themselves, Power and Credit, think not to provide for the Future; nor do they imagin that you ought to be more carefull. Others by Impeaching your Ministers and Charging them with false Crimes, labour only to make one part of your City punish the other, that while you are thus employed *Philop*
may

may be at Liberty to say and do whatever he Pleases. These are the Measures which you follow, and these are the Causes of your Confusion and your Errors: I beg of you, *Athenians*, to bear with my freedom of Speech, and not to be Angry at the Truths I shall tell you. Consider rather that in other things, you think it so necessary to allow Liberty of Speech to all who inhabit your City, that even Strangers, nay your Slaves share it with you, it being common to see Servants among you, speak whatever they list, with greater freedom than Citizens are allow'd to do in some other States. And yet this freedom is banished from your Councils, from whence it follows, that being perpetually Cajoled and Flattered by Discourses contrived to please your Ears, you Live deluded in a mistaken Security, whilst the Publick is really in the utmost Danger. If therefore you are at

present in the same Disposition, I have nothing more to say, but if you are willing to hear without Disguise or Flattery, what may conduce most to your Welfare, I am then ready to speak, for tho' thro' our supineness things are in a very ill Posture, 'tis not yet impossible to redress them, provided you resolve to Act as you ought. What I am about to say may appear a Paradox tho' it be most true. 'Tis that the very fatal Cause of our past Misfortunes proves the greatest Security for our future Success. But what do I mean by this? I mean that the Wretched condition you are in, is to be imputed wholly to your own carelessness, who have not done, one single thing great or small which might prevent it; for if these Misfortunes had come upon us notwithstanding, that we had taken Prudent measures, there would then be no hopes left of Amendment; whereas *Philip* can now be
said

said to have overcome only our Sloth and Negligence, but no way the State: You cannot have been Defeated who never moved a step to oppose him.

If we all agreed that *Philip* has broken the Peace, and is making War against us, 'twould only be necessary to advise about the most easie and secure Methods of resisting him: But since there are men so unreasonable as to hearken to the false Suggestions of some your Speakers, who at the very time when *Philip* is seizing Neighbouring Towns, has put himself in Possession of many Places which belong to you, and is unjustly disturbing all Mankind, would yet make us pass for the Aggressors, and Charge some of us with being Authors of the War, 'tis necessary to proceed with Caution, and to Rectify such a Mistake, least if any Man shall in Speech or Writing, advise how we may best Defend our selves, he may af-

terwards be Impeached and Tryed as a Disturber of the Peace. I therefore do begin by declaring this to be my Opinion, that if the Choice of War or Peace be left in our Power, if it be possible for us to enjoy Peace, we ought certainly to chuse it, and whoever is of the same Opinion ought to justifie it by Speaking and Voting without Prevarication. But if a Neighbour powerfully armed, amuses you with the name of Peace while he is committing Acts of Hostility, what is there left for us to do, but to oppose Force to Force ; if after his Example you will to the War you shall make against him, give the name of Peace, I consent ; But if any Man can really imagine that to be a Peace, by which *Philip* subduing all our Neighbours, is forcing a Way to come to us, he is certainly not in his right Senses ; at most it can be said to be a Peace but of one side, that is a Peace of the *Athenians* with *Philip*,
but

but not of *Philip* with the *Athenians*. This advantage he has purchased with so many Bribes, that he can make War upon you, whilst *Athens* most Religiously observes Peace with him. We are certainly the most Stupid of men, if we expect that he shall ever declare War against us, no tho' he were in the middle of *Attica*, or in our very Port he will not own it, his usage towards others in the like cases, may sufficiently warn you He owned not his Design upon *Olynthus*, till he came within five Miles of that unhappy City, he then sent them this Message, that one of these two things were necessary, either that they should quit *Olynthus* or himself *Macedon*. If at any time before the *Olynthians* conceived the least Jealousy of him, he took it very ill, and sent Ambassadors to vouch for the sincerity of his intentions. When he Marched against the *Phoceans*, did he not pretend 'twas to

assist them as his Friends and Allies? their Ambassadors were attending him in his Camp, and many amongst us thought that Expedition might prove Fatal to the *Thebans*. 'Twas under the like pretence of Alliance and Friendship, that he lately entered *Theffaly*, and seized *Pheræ* which he still keeps; and last of all he has told the unhappy *Oritans*, that hearing of the Factions and internal Distempers of their City, He had out of his affection, sent Souldiers to visit them, judging it to be the Duty of a true Friend, and good Alie not to be wanting on such occasions. Can you then believe that since he rather chose to employ deceit, than open Force against Enemies, whose little Power could not be dangerous to him, and whose Resistance if they had been prepared, could scarce have Secured them. Can you I say believe that he will declare open War with you, especially when he finds you so willing
to

to be deceived? No it cannot be, and he would be the most Foolish of Men, if finding you, as he does, disposed to resent the Injuries he has done you, not against him, but against each other, and to vent all your Indignation in Impeaching and bringing to Tryal some of your own Citizens, he should put an end to your Strife and Factions, encourage you to take up arms against himself, and deprive our Venal Orators of their most specious Argument for delaying your Resolutions which is, that *Philip* does not make War upon us.

But is it possible, O ye Gods! that any reasonable man will judge whether a Prince makes War or keeps the Peace by the names he shall give to either, rather than by his Actions? No there can be no such man. *Philip* immediately after the Conclusion of the last Peace and before *Dipithes* commanded your Armies, or that you had sent the

Troops which are in *Chersonesus*, had possess'd himself of *Serrion* and *Dorisium* and driven out the Garrisons which our General had plac'd in *Serrium*, and the holy Mountain, what name then shall we give to such Overt Acts? For take notice that he had then Sworn to observe the Peace; nor let any Man object of how little moment these Actions were to our State, for whether these were trifles in themselves, and of no consequence to us is another Question. But that the transgressing of what is just and Sacred, whether it be in Great or Small matters ought to have the same Weight is certain. But even now that he sends Mercenary Soldiers, owns his giving Assistance, and writes such Letters to your Subjects of *Chersonesus*, which both the King of *Persia* and all the *Greeks* own of right to be yours, how shall we term such Proceedings? For he professes that he makes no War. For my Part I am so far from allowing that whilst he is guilty of such

such practices, he does not Violate the Peace, that I look on his attempts upon *Megara*, his endeavours to establish Tyranny in *Eubæ* his present Expedition to *Thrace*, his secret practices in *Peloponnesus*, and in short his doing all this with a high hand, relying on his Force as so many notorious Acts of Hostility, and direct Breaches of the Peace; unless you will suppose him who is erecting Machines and Batteries against a Town, to be at Peace with that Town till the very Instant that his Engins begin to play and shake its Walls, but that no man will maintain; On the contrary whoever is labouring at a Work by which I am to be taken makes War upon me, tho' a Dart have not been thrown or an Arrow Shot. Reflect then, *Athenians*, to what dangers you will be expos'd if he effects these Projects, if the People of *Hellespont* be alienated from you, if your Enemy becomes Master of *Megara* and *Eubæa* and
if

if he engages *Peloponnesus* in his
 Interest, can you then, I ask, look
 on him who is raising such Engines
 against your State, to be at Peace
 with you? You must certainly judge
 quite otherwise. For from the day
 that he destroyed the *Phoceans*, from
 that day do I pronounce, that he
 has made War upon you, and do
 for that reason affirm that you ought
 in Prudence immediately to stop his
 Progress, and that if you now differ
 it will be out of your Power, when
 you shall hereafter attempt it. I
 am also of an Opinion far different
 from others, who have advised you:
 They are for deliberating and de-
 bating, what is fit to be done con-
 cerning *Byzantium* and *Chersonesus*,
 whereas I think you ought to
 assist them, without any Delay, to
 take the utmost Care least any ill
 befall them, and to send forthwith,
 whatever is wanting to the *Generals*
 you have there. You ought next
 to deliberate about the State of all
 Greece

Greece, as being exposed to the greatest danger. I shall lay before you the Reasons I have to be thus apprehensive, that if my Fears be well founded, you may become sensible of your Danger, and take, some Care for your own Security, tho' you neglect that of others; If on the contrary they appear Chimerical, and that you Judge me struck with a panick Terrour, I am willing both now and Ever after, to Forfeit your attention, and to be accounted Guilty of the greatest Extravagance.

To convince you then, with how much Reason, I am alarm'd for you, I might offer to your Reflections, from how a small a Beginning, and low State; *Philip* is arrived to his present Grandure, I might next describe the Miserable State of *Greece*, torn and divided by the Rage of Faction, and the Implacable Animosities of contending Parties, which Posture of Affairs at home duly consider'd,

sider'd, we ought not so much to wonder at the Prodigious growth of *Philip's* Power, from the time past to this Day, as we should have reason to do, if after having got so much upon us, he should not Proceed and subdue the whole; but these and many other Considerations of this kind, I shall wave at Present, and insist on this chiefly, that he has obtained one Point by the Concession of all the *Greeks*, beginning with your selves, which was ever Contested heretofore, and which produced all the Wars, we ever had in *Greece*. What is then, this mighty Advantage we allow him to Usurp? 'Tis no less, *Athenians*, than the Priviledge of doing in *Greece*, whatever he pleases, of destroying singly whomever he thinks fit, of ravaging Provinces, and reducing Towns to Slavery. You were formerly the Umpire of *Greece*, and held the Reins during Seventy three Years. The *Spartans* enjoyed the same Rank, Nine and twenty.

And

And of late the *Thebans* make a considerable Figure, since the Battle of *Leuctra*. But neither you, nor the *Thebans*, nor *Sparta*, were ever suffered by the other *Greeks*, to exercise an Arbitrary Power over them. Quite contrary, *Athenians*, when you or rather your Ancestors, were thought to want Moderation towards some of your Neighbours, it was universally agreed to make War upon you, and those who had no reason to complain of you on their own account, appear'd as forward in the Quarrel as those who had been injured: Again when the *Lacedaemonians* succeeded you in Power, they no sooner began to carry themselves with Insolence, and with a high hand to make changes in several Governments, but all *Greece* joyned in War against them, without excepting those who had been well treated under their Government. But 'tis needless to urge other Examples; have not we our selves and the *Spartans* been engaged in Wars

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undertaken purely in the Defence of others whom we saw injured, when not the least Injury had been offer'd to either of us by the other? But *Philip* has in not full Thirteen Years that he is come upon the Stage done more wrongs to *Greece*, than could ever be laid to the Charge, either of the *Spartans*, during their Thirty or of your Ancestors during their Seventy years Administration. Yes *Athenians*, all the faults that can be Imputed to either of these States, during so long a Tract of time, put together, equal not the smallest Part of his, nor will what I hear advance require far fetch'd Proofs; for to say nothing of *Olynthus*, *Methone*, *Apollonia* and two and thirty Towns in *Thrace* all which are so miserably Destroy'd, that a Traveller will not discover, the least Trace or Footstep, that ever they were Inhabited, and to pass over so great a People as the *Phoceans* who are wholly cut off, let us reflect on the present State of
the

the *Theſſalians*, has he not deſtroyed their Towns, ſubverted their Government, and divided their Country into four Diſtricts; ſubject to as many Tetrarchs, ſo that inſtead of ſome Towns, which were before oppreſſed by particular Tyrants, the whole Country, is now Inſlaved by his Viceroyſ. Are not the Towns of *Eubæa* labouring under the Yoke of Tyrants, and this at the Gates as it were of *Thebes* and *Athens*? Does he not write plainly in his Epiſtles? *I profeſs to be in Peace with all who will obey me*; nor does he only write ſo but confirms his Words by Actions. He is rendring himſelf Maſter of the *Helleſpont*, having before Attacked *Ambracia*, *Elis* a Town ſo conſiderable in the *Peloponneſus* is become Subject to him, and not long ſince, he attempted to ſurpriſe *Megara*: Neither *Greece* nor the Country of the Barbarians can contain his Ambition. Yet we who are Gre-

Grecians see and hear all this, without Emotion. We think not of sending Embassies to awaken each other : and to Rouse up our indignation. We seem rather plunged in a Profound Lethargy, and as if the Ramparts of each Town, were an Impenetrable Barrier that divided it from all Mankind, we have not to this Hour, done the least thing which we might or ought ; not made the least step towards uniting in our common Defence, towards contracting Friendships and Alliances for our mutual Security. We neglect and overlook the growing Power of our Enemy, and each of us thinks, that he Gains so much time for himself as *Philip* is employing to the Destruction of his Neighbour ; but how to secure the common Liberty of *Greece*, no Scheme, no Measures are so much as thought on, and yet no Man can be Ignorant that *Philip* like a Fever, or any other Periodical

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Distemper, the return of whose Fits is certain, is making a sure Progress towards him who thinks himself farthest from Danger.

'Tis true that *Athens* and *Sparta*, have formerly committed Acts of Injustice: But the *Greeks* who were then oppressed, were at least Oppressed by *Greeks*, and became Subject to their Brothers and Country-Men. Their Transgression might be compared to the Extravagance of a Son, born Heir to a great Estate, which if he Mismanage, and Squanders he deserves indeed Reproof and Blame, yet can it not be said of him, that he is a Stranger, nor will he be thought to have forfeited his Right of Inheriting: But if a Slave or Supposititious Son, should waste and destroy what he is no way Related to, all Men will agree that such an Indignity is far more Grievous, and that it deserves the utmost Resentment. Why then do not Men reason thus in Relation to *Philip*, who is so far from

from being a *Greek*, or having any Relation to *Greece*. That few even amongst the Barbarians would own the Place of his Extraction? A Vile *Macedonian*! sprung from a Country which did not formerly afford a good Slave, and with what indignity does this Man treat us all? After so many *Greek* Towns destroyed by him, does he not preside at the *Pythian* Games, the general Entertainments of all *Greece*, and if he does not vouchsafe to Assist there in Person, he sends his slaves to have the Direction of them. He is Master of *Pyla*, and the Passages into *Greece*, he Guards them with Foreign Souldiers, he has assumed the Privilege of being first admitted to Consult the *Delphick* Oracle, contrary to your Right to that of the *Thessalians*, the *Dorians* and of all the *Amphietyons*, to whose Assembly, not all even *Greeks* are allowed to send Representatives. He prescribes to the *Thessalians* how they
are

are to be Govern'd, he sends his Mercenary Souldiers, some to *Porthemus* to drive out the *Eretrians*; others to *Oreum* there to set up the Tyrant *Philistides*, all this the *Greeks* see and bear Patiently. They look on it as on a Storm of Hail, which every Man prays may not light up on his own Grounds, but no body goes about to Fence against.

Nor do we Suffer only the Injuries and Affronts offer'd to *Greece* in general to pass unpunish'd, our Insensibility goes yet farther, and is carried to the highest Pitch, since no one thinks of Revenging his own Wrongs. Has not *Philip* invaded *Ambracia* and *Leucas*, both Towns Subject to *Corinth*? Has he not forced *Naupactus* from the *Achaians*, and sworn to Deliver it to the *Aetolians*? Has he not taken *Echinus* from the *Thebans*? Is he not marching against the *Byzantines* your Confederates? And to say no more, is he not now in Possession of *Cardia*
the

the greatest Town of *Chersonesus*? Thus Insulted, thus notoriously Wronged, we are all of us Irresolute, Indolent, only look at one another and mistrust one another. Now if he treats with such Insolence the whole Body of *Greece*, what think you will be his Carriage when he shall have successively Subdued each of us? What can then be the Reason of our present passive Disposition? For there must be some Reason to be assigned why the *Greeks* have been so zealous heretofore in defence of Liberty, and are now thus Prone to Slavery. There was then, *Athenians*, a Principle fix'd in the Minds of all Men which is no more. That Principle overcame the *Persian* Wealth, preserved *Greece* free, and never fail'd to make us Conquer both by Sea and Land, but now 'tis worn out, all goes to Ruin amongst us. What was it then shall I be asked? 'Twas somewhat very Plain and Simple, 'twas

an implacable hatred against whoever suffered himself to be Bribed by Men Ambitious of Power, or by the Enemies of *Greece* ; to have been Convicted of Bribery was then accounted the highest Guilt, 'twas punished with the utmost Severity, no Mercy, no Forgiveness was to be expected. 'Twas not then possible to purchase of your Oratours or Generals with ready Money, those Critical Occasions, those favourable Opportunities which Fortune sometimes offers to the Unactive and Careless against the most Vigorous and Diligent. No Gold could then Impair our firm Concord at home, our Hatred and Diffidence of Tyrants and Barbarians, or ought of our other Virtuous Dispositions, but all these are now Bought and Sold publickly as in a Market. Corruption has now introduced Manners quite opposite, which have proved the Bane and Destruction of our Country : If men are
Angry

Angry now, 'tis with those who detect and reprove such Villiany. Is a Man known to have received Foreign Money ? People Envy him. Does he own it ? They Laugh. Is he Convicted in Form ? They Forgive him. Thus Universally has this Contagion spread amongst us.

We are now stronger in Shipping, Numbers of Men, have larger Revenues, and abound in all other Things, which are thought to make the Strength of a Government more than ever did our Ancestors. But all these Advantages are rendred perfectly useless to us, by the Practices of those who Traffick for the Publick. The Truth of all I here advance concerning your present Dispositions, you are but too sensible of, I need not go about to prove it. But that heretofore you were quite otherwise affected, I shall prove not by Arguments of my own, but by an Inscription of
your

your Ancestors, they ordered it to be engraven on a Pillar of Brass, and to be preserved in our Cittadel, not for their own use, they needed not Inscriptions to mind them of their duty to the Publick, but that you might have an everlasting Monument and Example of the necessity you lie under, to be with the outmost care upon your Guard, against Corruption. The Inscription is thus, *Be Arthraius the Zelyte Son of Pythonax infamous and an Enemy to the People of Athens, and their Confederates, he and his Posterity.* The reason follows why this was done. *Because he brought Gold from Media into Peloponnesus, not to Athens:* This is the Inscription; Consider now in the Name of Jupiter and all the Gods, and reflect with your selves how the *Athenians* of that Age reasoned, and how much dignity they expressed by this Action. They declare this *Arthraius* an Enemy to their State and

I
Allies,

Allies and that he shall ever be infamous with his Posterity, for having as a Slave in obedience to his Master, the King of *Persia's* Command, (*Zelea* being in that King's Dominions) brought his Gold, not into *Athens* but only into *Greece*. Nor by this was meant Infamy alone (For what did it import a *Zelyte* to be debarred from all Honour and privilege, or to be shut out from all Society at *Athens*) this is not therefore the sense of the Inscription; but it implies a Capital Punishment. As when in Cases of Murder a Man flies from Justice; let such an Offender say our Law die infamous: And whoever kills him let him be accounted Guiltless.

Our Ancestors therefore thought it was incumbent on them to watch for the security of all *Greece*, they would not otherwise have concern'd themselves at what pernicious Bargains were driving on in *Peloponnesus*, nor would they have

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inflicted so severe a Punishment as the Proscription above mention'd, on such as were distributing Bribes there. When they follow'd such measures, 'tis no wonder that *Greece* was formidable to the Barbarians, who are now become Terrible to us; for you observe not the same Conduct, either in this, or any other thing. Your selves are Conscious of the Truths I tell you, 'tis therefore needless for me to spend more time in accusing all the *Greeks*, for I do that sufficiently in censuring you. They are all alike to blame, none of them are less faulty than your selves. I therefore do pronounce, that to retrieve the wretched Condition, to which your mismanagements have reduc'd you, you must bend your utmost Application, express the greatest Vigour, and hearken to Wise Counsel; but who shall give this Wise Counsel? Do you command me to speak, and will you calmly hear it.

Let the Clerk Read.

I find this frivolous Argument, made use of by some to comfort and flatter us, That *Philip* is yet far from being so Powerful as were formerly the *Lacedaemonians*; they were Masters of the Sea and Land, they had for Confederate the great King, in short their Power seemed Irresistible. *Athens* notwithstanding, say they, coped with this formidable Power and is still a City. In answer to this I shall observe that amongst the many Changes and improvements which have been made of late, nothing seems to have received a greater Alteration, or to have been brought to so great a degree of Perfection as the Art of War. For we are told that not only the *Lacedaemonians*, but all the other *Greeks* made Expeditions formerly, which lasted only the Four or Five Summer Months, during that time they infested their Enemies Country

try, with Troops composed of their own Citizens heavily Armed, and at the end of that Season every Man returned to his own home. Besides their Simplicity and Plain dealing at that time was such, that Gold and Silver were never made use of to procure Advantages in War, which was then Subject to certain Laws of Probity; whereas now you see that Traitors have almost undone us, and that nothing is decided in the Field by open Force or fair Fighting. You hear of the many sudden Expeditions which *Philip* makes without opposition, the Success of them is owing not to his Phalanx or heavy Armed Troops, but to his Light Horse and Foreign Archers; with these he is always in Motion, and ready to lay hold on every advantage, which the Discord and mutual Jealousies, raised by his Emisaries, give him over a City. He has no Sallies to fear from a Place where each Man's

diffidence and Apprehension of Treachery, makes him backward to hazard any thing. Unmolested he is suffered to wait for his Engines, and whatever is necessary to Form a regular Siege. I may add that he knows no difference of Summer and Winter, no Season is to him improper for Action. Since you know all this, does it not behove you to keep the War out of your own Country? For if you Compare this Man's way of making War, with the Simplicity of your Ancient Enemies the *Lacedaemonians*, and that you take measures upon that foot, you will certainly be undone. Your chief Care therefore must be by early Preparations and by finding work for him at home, to prevent his Invading you, nor is it your Business to engage him in Pitched Battles, the Experience of his Troops may there give him a Superiority over you. But as to the Main of the War, we have by
Na-

Nature a Thousand Advantages over him ; amongst others the Scituation of his Country, which lies extremely exposed to be infested and harassed by our Fleets and Armies ; but there will be wanting besides Fleets or Armies, or Military Prowess, some other things to make us Victorious. Wisdom and Steadiness in our Counsels, and a just resentment against those who take his part amongst us. You ought fully to be perswaded that 'twill be impossible to Master our Enemies without doors, 'till you have punished those who are doing his Business in the midst of your City. But O Prodigious ! you neither can nor will inflict such necessary Punishment ; you seem rather infatuated, or, I know not whether possessed and instigated by some evil *Demon* to such a degree, that you applaud these Mercenaries, be the Motive what it will, be it Envy, or that you are pleased with Railing, and

to hear a few ill natured Jest, your Selves call up these Hirelings to speak. That they are hired and have received Bribes some of them cannot deny, nevertheless you Laugh, and are pleased when they Abuse some honest Patriot; nor is this, tho' bad enough the worst Mischief you have drawn on your Selves; these Wretches are entrusted with the Administration, and you have made it safer for them to betray the Publick than for honest Men to defend it. That you may be warned of the Calamities, to which the Deference you have for these Men will expose you, I will instance to you some known Examples. There were in *Olynthus* amongst the Principal Citizens, two Factions, the one devoted to King *Philip*, and absolutely Govern'd by him; the other Zealous for their true Interest, and Labouring all they could to preserve their Country from Slavery; now which of these two, think ye, were the

the Authors of its Ruin ! Which of them Betray'd the Body of Horse, whose loss prov'd Fatal to that City ? *Philip's* Partizans were guilty of this Treachery. Whilst *Olynthus* was in being, they so blacken'd the Reputation of Virtuous Men by Calumnies and the Imputation of Forged Crimes, that the deluded People Banish'd *Apollonides*. Nor is *Olynthus* the only Example of a People undone by such Practices. The same disorder has in other Places been attended with the same Consequences. When the People of *Eretria* had by driving out *Plutarch* and his Foreign Souldiers made themselves a free State, and were Masters of *Porthmus* ; some of them inclin'd to us, and some to *Philip* ; the latter became Prevalent, and the unhappy *Eretrians* were at length perswaded by them to Banish their Defenders, the consequence of which was, that King *Philip* their Friend and Allie, sent into their Town

Hipponicus, with a Thousand Soldiers, who razed the Walls of *Porthmus*, and Establish'd over them three Tyrants, *Hipparchus*, *Automedon* and *Clitarchus*. Not satisfy'd with this, he has twice since driven them out of their Country, when recover'd from their past Errours, they aspir'd to become free. *Eurilochus* and *Parmenion* were severally the Ministers of his harsh Commands. But to what purpose should I dwell longer on this Subject, are not *Philistides*, *Menippus*, *Socrates*, *Thoas*, and *Agapaus*, newly become Tyrants of *Oreum*, and were they not lately Corrupt Citizens of that Town, wholly devoted to King *Philip's* Interest? This is publicly known, and that *Euphraeus*, a Man who has some time Liv'd in your City, and who to the utmost of his Power, struggled to Preserve his Country free from Tyranny, was by his fellow Citizens Treated with such

such Scorn and Indignity, as would be tedious to relate, for the Year which preceded the Ruin of *Oreum*, he having observ'd the Practices of *Philistides* and his Associates, Accus'd them of Treason, when a Faction Supported, and Encourag'd by *Philip*, laid hold on him, and hurried him to Gaol as a disturber of the Publick Tranquillity. The People who saw this Violence, instead of supporting the Innocent Man, and punishing the Authors of his oppression, sided with them, insulting over the Patriot, said he had nought but what he deserved, and rejoyc'd at his Sufferings. The Traitors by these means became Sole Masters, and acting without Controul, easily compassed their pernicious design of delivering up the City to their Patron ; For if any were apprehensive of their Treacherous Practices, the Example of *Euphræus* struck such an Awe and Terrour
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into them, that not a Man durst
 warn them of their approaching
 Calamity, till the Enemy appear'd
 in Battle under their Walls, whilst
 in that Confusion some defended
 themselves, others let in the Ene-
 my. The Town being thus base-
 ly taken, these Men Lord it, and
 are Tyrants ; they have Banish'd
 or put to Death, all such as had
 appear'd forward to defend them-
 selves, and to deliver *Euphras*.
 That generous Citizen Kill'd him-
 self to give a last convincing
 Proof, that his opposing *Philip* had
 proceeded from a strict respect to
 Justice, and a sincere Love to his
 Country. You may perhaps won-
 der now what motive could in-
 duce the *Olynthians*, the *Eretrians*,
 and the *Oritans*, to be thus Byass'd
 towards the Partizans of King
Philip, preferably to those who
 Advised them to pursue only their
 true Interest. 'Twas the same
 which prevails with you, *Athenians* ;
 'twas

'twas that whoever will give sound Advice, can never be guilty of Flattery, nor affect to gain Popularity at the Expence of Truth: His only Aim, is to save the Publick. The Corrupt Minister does on the contrary, the greatest service to King *Philip*; by humouring, and Cajoling the Multitude. Did an honest Citizen, at *Olynthus*, or elsewhere, propose a Tax? The Hirelings opposed it. Did one say, a War was necessary; and that *Philip* was not to be trusted? The others were for Peace, and for Lulling them into a Security, which lasted till 'twas too late to prevent their Ruin. You will easily imagine they did not agree better in other things, which makes it needless for me to go through more particulars. The Pensioners ever Studied to propose what would be most Grateful at the present time. The well meaning Citizen never feared to utter what was necessary for the Publick

lick Safety, how disagreeable so ever. When at length the People became sensible of their Condition, and were no longer to be deluded by Flatteries, despair of Success made them Negligent; they gave way to the Times, and thought 'twas in vain to struggle with an Enemy, whom their own Negligence had rais'd to be an Overmatch to them. I call the Gods to Witness, *Athenians*, that I tremble, lest this prove to be one day your Case; lest such a Despair may one day Seize you, when the late Reflections you shall make, will be found to be of no use. I therefore do not hate, but I abhor and detest those who are bringing such Mischiefs upon you, whether thro' Design, or thro' Ignorance they Ruin you, what matters it? But what talk I of Ruin, *Athenians*? Heaven avert such a Calamity. For 'tis a Thousand times better to Die, than by a base Complaisance

plaifance for Flatterers, to Strengthen our Enemy, and to Sacrifice any of those, who in their Speeches and Counfels, have endeavour'd to assert your Liberty. Have not the *Oritans* been egregiously Reward-ed for the Confidence they placed in *Philip's* Emissaries, and their Expulsion of *Euphraus*? Or let the *Eretrians* Boast of the kind return made them for having Dismissed your Embassadours, and having deliver'd themselves to *Clitarchus*, They are now Slaves, are Whip'd and Tortur'd; Nor has he spared the *Olynthians*, who made *Lasthenes* his Creature, General of their Horse, and Banish'd *Apollonides*. 'Tis Folly, 'tis Stupidity, when we foresee these Evils, instead of Arming our selves, and taking the Wisest Precaution against them, to be amused by the Discourses of our Enemies, and to believe upon their Credit, that our State is so Powerful, as that we can have no reason

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son to Fear. For can there any thing be more Wretched, than after an ill Event, to be saying, Who could have thought it? We ought to have done thus and thus, and to have shunned such and such measures? The *Olynthians* may now talk of proper measures, which if they had taken, would have prevented their Ruin. The *Oritans* may do the like, the *Phoceans*, and in short, all those who have been Destroy'd, may now hold the same Discourses, but what will they now avail them? 'Tis the duty of a Pilot, Mariner, and of every Man on Board a Ship, be she great or small, to be watchful and diligent while she is in good Condition, for if by their Carelessness or Unskilfulness, she be surpriz'd by a suddain Storm, if their Prudence do not Obviate the Danger, and her Sails be not taken in, they will in vain struggle when she is Overfet, or the Sea has broken in upon her.

Thus

Thus ought we, *Athenians*, whilst we Form a great State, Command a great Power, and have a great Name; what ought we to do? Shall I perhaps be asked. I'll tell you freely, and propose my Opinion, that you may Approve or Reject it.

You must begin to put your selves in a Posture, by equipping a Fleet, finding necessary Funds for the War, and raising Soldiers; for should the rest of *Greece*, be willing to be Slaves, 'twill nevertheless be your duty to appear, as the Assertors of its Liberty. When your preparations are made; and that *Greece* is acquainted with them. Let us invite other Nations to joyn with us. Let us send Embassies for this Purpose, to *Peloponnesus*, *Rhodes*, *Scio*, and even to the King of *Persia*, for that Prince, seems not to be unconcerned, least this Upstart, bring all to Confusion. If your Negotiations prove successful
you

you will have Confederates to share with you the dangers, and to bear Part of the necessary Expences: If they should not succeed, as you might wish, You will still gain time upon your Adversary; Nor is gaining of time, an advantage to be slighted, when you have for Enemy, one Absolute Sovereign; whose Counsels are not Subject to the delays, which are unavoidable in Popular Governments. That Embassies are not useless, you may gather from what happen'd last Year, when in Company with that excellent Man *Poliuctus*, *Hegesippus*, *Clitomachus*, *Lycurgus*, their other Collegues, and I my self went from Town to Town, in the *Peloponnesus*, aggravating the Injuries of our Enemy; for by this Means we stopt his progress, saved *Ambracia* and prevented his irruption into the *Peloponnesus*. I shall not indeed advise you to encourage and rouse up other People, if your selves per-

persevere to neglect every thing which is necessary. 'T would be ridiculous for Men, so indolent in their own affairs, to Affect a Concern for others, and to stir up in others, an apprehension of future dangers; when themselves have no sense of those that are present. I do not therefore advise you to take Measures thus inconsistent, but I propose that we immediately send Money and whatever else is desired to our Troops in *Chersonesus*. That we begin to put our selves in a good Posture, and when we shall thus have set an Example to others of what is fit to be done, that we do then Invite, Assemble, Instruct and Encourage the other *Greeks*.

Such Measures will become the Dignity of your State; but if you expect that the People of *Chalcis* or *Megara*, will save *Greece*, whilst you sit Idle; you are Strangely Mistaken? 'T will be happy, for
those

those little States, if each of them can preserve it self. But to protect the Honour and Safety of *Greece*, does of Right belong to you. 'Tis a Right your Ancestors purchased at the expence of great Labour and many Hazards, and they have bequeathed this glorious Task to you, as an Inheritance; but if each Man will sit with his Arms a-cross, expecting every thing from Fortune, and seeking only to shun present Trouble, in the First place, he will certainly find no body to do what himself Neglects, and I fear moreover least we may all be forced to do what we would not. For if there were any such Men, as would Officiously supply your Inactivity, they would have been found long since, but there are none such. You have my Opinion, *Athenians*; thus have I proposed Measures which if followed, will, I believe, still retrieve your Sinking Reputation. If any man have any thing

thing better to offer, let him
 speak, and propose it; and may
 the Resolutions, you shall take, I
 pray to all the Gods, prove suc-
 cessful to the State.

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The first of these is the fact that the
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Phlip

(179)

The Fourth

Philippick

OF

Demosthenes.

From the Greek.

AS I believe, O Men of *A-*
thens, that those things a-
bout which ye now con-
sult, are not only of Con-
sequence to you, but even Necessary
to

to the very Being of your Common-Wealth ; so I shall endeavour to speak concerning them, what I believe is for your Interest. Now in the number of Disorders, under which the State Labors, which are great, and have gain'd Strength by length of time : There is not one, O Men of *Athens*, more Fatal in your present Circumstances, than that you your selves are gone off from considering Publick Affairs ; and attend just so long as ye continue Sitting, to harken if any thing of News is to be told ; then every one of you going his way, doth not only not Study about the matters, but doth not so much as remember them. 'Tis true, the Insolence and Incroachment which *Philip* uses against all Mankind, is as great and frequent, as you are told : But that it is impossible for Words and Publick Harangues to restrain him from them, no body sure is Ignorant. For if any one has not been able to find that out
from

from some other particular, let him reason thus : We never on Occasion of arguing about the Justice of the Cause have once been Worsted, nor judged Injurious ; but every where upon all occasions prevailed, and as far as Words are Superiour. Are then his affairs by force of that, in an Ill condition ? or those of Our State in a Good ? Nay sure far short. For why, the next thing, He Armes, and Marches ; making attempts briskly with all his Force : But we Sit still, here, some speaking, and others attending to the Justice of the Cause. Thus of course Deeds, outgo Words ; and all men attend, not to our former, or present Arguments about Right and Justice, but to our Actions : And they are such at present as are unable to protect any of those that are Oppressed by Him. For more of them I must not say. To go on : Men in every Government a-

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bout

bout us being divided into these
 two Sorts; the one neither for go-
 vernaing any other by force, nor
 for being Inslaved to any body,
 but for Injoying equally their Con-
 stitution, with their Laws and Li-
 berties; the other fond to be Ma-
 sters of their Countrymen, and
 Servants to any person, by whom-
 soever they hope to be able to ef-
 fect the same: Those of this His-
 temper, those that desire Tirannies
 and Arbitrary Powers, have every
 where prevailed: And I know not
 whether there be any one State
 left besides your own, in which
 the Authority of the People is firm-
 ly preserved. Those Modellers of
 Governments by his assistance, have
 prevailed by every particular, by
 which Actions of consequence are
 performed: As by the first and
 most Universal, that they, who are
 willing to be brought over to their
 Interest by taking Money know
 whom they may Apply to, that
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will readily disburse it: And a Second, nor that less effectual ever a whit than tother, that they have a Force ready to come and destroy all those that Oppose them, whenever they shall think fit to call for it. But we, O men of *Athens*, are not only deficient in these things, but cannot be Awakened, but are Dosed like those People that have taken *Mandrake*, or some other such Potion. By consequence, it seems, (For Truth in my opinion must be spoken) We are so traduced and despised there upon, that of those concerned in the same dangers with our selves, some dispute with us, the Command; others the place of Congress, and some have determined even to defend themselves, by themselves, rather than by Alliances with us. Now, Wherefore do I speak of and rip up all these Miscarriages? Why, by *Jupiter* and all the Gods, I don't

choose to get your ill will ; but that every one of you, ye men of *Athens*, may know and see, that as in Private affairs, so in the Publick, the Easiness and Sloth of every day doth not make the consequence of Each neglect Immediately sensible ; but it appears flagrantly at the foot of the account. Ye now see the Consequence of those places which ye first disregarded after the Peace, *Serhium* and *Doriscum*, names hardly known to many of you. These however being then slighted and overlooked were the ruin of *Thrace* and *Cersobleptes* your Allies. Then, seeing your neglect of these places and that they could obtain no Assistance from you, He demolished *Porthmus* ; and by Establishing a Tyranny in *Eubaa*, in the very face of *Attica*, has begun your Blockade. This not being worth your care. He almost took *Megara* : You took no thought, nor ever once Stirred at any of these Acti-

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ons ; nor did ever so much as Give him to understand, that ye would not permit him to go on in this manner. *Antron* he bought, and in a short time after rendered himself Master of *Oreus*. Many things I even omit ; *Pherra* His Inroad upon *Ambracta*, his Butcheries in *E-lis*, and a Thousand more. For it is not to Enumerate all the People that have been Oppressed, Or Abused by *Philip*, that I have recited these ; but to Demonstrate to you, that *Philip*, will never cease abusing all Mankind, and subduing to himself what he lists, if no body will hinder him. Now there are some among you, who before they hear the State of your Affairs, are wont presently to ask, what then must we do ? Not that they may do it when they are told ; (for then they would be the most Serviceable of all) but to get at liberty from hearing one out. Yet I must say, what ye ought to do.

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First,

First, O men of *Athens*, to be firmly perswaded in your minds, that *Philip* is at War with this Common-wealth, and hath broke the Peace; and that he has evil intentions and hatred to this whole City, and the very Foundation on which the City stands: I will add, to the Religion and the Gods of it. Who I pray may Confound him. But above all things he is an Enemy to its free Constitution: Nor is there the thing in the World, that he Plots and lies upon the watch for more, than how he may destroy this Constitution. And this disposition is in a manner become at length Necessary to him. For, do but Reflect. He designs to be Master; and he apprehends you as his only Antagonists herein. He is now Injurious to you of a long time; and of this he is intirely Conscious to himself: For by the Advantage of what he Usurpes of yours, it is, that he Secures to himself

self the enjoyment of all his other Acquisitions. For had he given up *Amphipolis* and *Polidaea*, he would not think himself safe in his own Country, in *Macedonia*. Both these things therefore he is sure of; that he has Treacherous designs against you, and that you are aware of it. So if he thinks you in your Sences, he must judge, that ye Justly hate him. And besides these things, which are so very considerable; he perfectly knows, that if he should be Master even of all the World besides; he could possess nothing Securely, whilst you retain your Liberty but if ever any Mis-carriage should happen, (and all Human affairs are subject to many) All those whom he now oppresses by Force will Rise and fly to your protection. For you are not made for gaining Empire over your Neighbors, or keeping it your selves; but Notably qualified to prevent any other from Seizing it,

and to deprive him, that has Got it, and in a Word, to break their measures that set up for Universal Monarchy, and to Vindicate all Mankind into Liberty. Therefore he has no mind, that your Liberty keep its guard and Station against his Advantages, in consequence of a very right, and very close reckoning. Upon this account then ye ought in the first place to esteem him the Irreconcilable Enemy of your Constitution and Liberty ; and in the next place to rest perfectly assured, that all his present intrigues and preparations are designed against Our Common-wealth. For there is no one among you so Weak, as to think, that *Philip* can have any desire for those Wretched places in *Thrace*, (for by what other names can one call *Drongilum* *Cabyle* and *Mastria*, and what they say he, has already taken there ?) or that for the sake of getting these, he

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undergoes Labours, Winter Camps,
 Hardships and the Last of Dangers;
 but as for the Ports of *Athens*,
 their Docks, their Strength at Sea,
 their Silver Mines, their Great Re-
 venue, their Situation, and their
 Glory, (which may neither he nor
 any other by subduing our State
 ever be Master of) for all these
 things, I say, Not to have any Di-
 fire, but that he will leave you the
 Peaceable enjoyment of them: And
 yet for the sake of a little wretch-
 ed Corn hid in the *Thracian* hords,
 take up Winter quarters in Dens
 and Caverns. No it is not so; but
 it is in order to be Master of what
 is Here, that he Impleys himself
 both There, and Every where else.
 Being Every one of you therefore
 perswaded and sure of these things
 your selves, ye ought not to Call
 upon him that in every question
 of State is your faithful adviser.
 To bring in a Decree for War:
 For this is to seek out upon whom

your Indignation may fall, but not
 to do what is Expedient for your
 Country. For you now see plain-
 ly, If any one had brought in a
 Decree of War: upon the First,
 the Second, or the Third Breach
 of the Peace which *Philip* made;
 (for there are many, one after ano-
 ther) and he had Assisted the *Car-*
dians after that, just as he doth
 now that no one of the *Athenians*
 has ever offered any Decree of
 War against him: Had not your
 Advisers been Torn in Peices? and
 all Men accused him as the Cause
 of *Philip's* sending Assistance to the
Cardians? Do not therefore seek
 out one to make the object of your
 hatred, for *Philip's* crimes; or ex-
 pose him to be pull d in pieces by
 His Pensioners. Neither do you
 Votes a War; and then come to
 quarrel with one another, Whether
 it was requisite or not requisite to
 have done so: but by the same
 methods that he Attacks you, do
 ye Defend your selves: Supply all
 those

those that are now at War with him in their own Defence, with Money and what else they want, you yourselves, O Men of *Athens*, paying Taxes readily, and preparing a good Force both by Land and Sea, getting Horse and Transports, and what else is necessary for War. For the present management of our Affairs is Ridiculous: nay I Solemnly Swear, 'tis my belief, that *Philip* himself would not pray that our Government should Act in any one thing otherwise than you act at present: You Come after businessses are done; you waste your Money, you Dispute with whom you shall Trust your affairs, you are Angry, you Impeach one another. But Whence all this comes, I will make plain, and tell you by what method it shall Cease. There is not any one of your Affairs, ye Men of *Athens*, that you have at First prepared or established upon a right Foundation;

on; but still as a business comes Home to you, ye pursue it; and then Coming after its over, sit down again. Again if some other Arrive, ye fall to your Preparations, and hurrying Anew. But this will not do now. It is impossible to do any thing of consequence by these Occasional armings: But ye must first set a good Force on Foot, and settle Funds for its maintenance, and Treasurers, and all possible cautions to prevent any Embezzlement of the Publick Money: and when all this is done; require an account of your Money from your Treasurers, and of Services from your Generals: and ye must leave no excuse to your General of Sailing to some other place, or of Acting any other thing than his Orders. If ye will do thus, and give your Minds to these things, ye will either force *Philip* to observe the Peace justly, and to Contain himself within the Bounds of his own

Coun-

Country, or ye will Fight with him upon equal terms. And Perhaps, O Men of Athens, Perhaps, as ye now ask, what Philip is about? and Whether He marches? So he then will be Solicitous to know Upon what expedition the Forces of Our Common-Wealth are gone, and Where they will make a Descent. If any one thinks that this will be a matter of great Expence, Difficulty, and Application; why, he thinks very Rightly: but if he compute What will be the Consequence to our Common-Wealth unless we readily apply our selves to these things, he will find it turn to account to set about willingly what must be done. For even, if one of the Gods should engage (for no Mortal I am sure can be sufficient Security in this case) that if ye sit quietly, and let all go, he will not at last come upon you your selves: It would be Base however, by *Jupiter* and all the Gods,

Gods, and unworthy of you and of the Power of this Common-Wealth, and the Glorious Actions of your Ancestors, for your own Ease and Sloth to give up all *Greece* into Slavery. For my part, I had rather Die than give the Advice. But if any body else will give it, and you will be perswaded to it; Let it be so, Do not defend them, I et all go. But if no Body is of this Opinion, but we all before hand know the contrary: That the more we permit him to be Master of, the more grievous and potent Enemy we shall find him; Why do we Shift off? or Why do we procrastinate? or When shall we be in the Humour to do the things we Must? What, when some Necessity happens? But that which one should call the Necessity of Free men, and of a Free State, is not only Now Come, but has a Long time been Past; and for that of Slaves, we have cause, I think, to pray, That
 may

may never happen. What is the Difference? Why to a Free Man the highest Necessity is a Dishonourable Condition of his Affairs: And I know not any that can be Assigned higher than this. But that of Slaves is Stripes and Torments: And of this God forbid the Event; nay the very Words are not fit to be mention'd here. It is not therefore right, O Men of *Athens*, but far short, to have a careless Regard to those things, to which ye ought to Sacrifice your Lives and Fortunes. However, still there is at least something of an Excuse for it: But not to be content, so much as to hear those things which ye ought to hear, and which ye are oblig'd to Consult about: This, doubtless is a case that lies open to the most extreme Reproach. Yet, when things are Quiet, your way has been never so much as to Hear or Consult about the least Affair; till Necessity, as
at

at this time stands before you: But whilst he is making his Preparations against you, ye Live at your Ease, neglecting to do the same, and on your side to Prepare against him; and if any one says any thing towards it, ye hiss him out. But when ye hear some Town is Lost, or Besieged, then ye Attend, and make your Preparations: But it was then the time to have hearkened to your Advisers, and to have Consulted, when ye could not indure it; and now the time to Act, and make use of your Preparations already made, when you are Sitting and Hearing. It is therefore from such humours, that you alone do contrary to all Mankind. For all other People use to Consult before Action, but you after Action. I shall now speak what remains, and was indeed requisite long since, but is so now too. Money in the present Circumstances, is that which is most Wanting

Wanting to this State ; and some lucky Accidents have happened without our seeking, which if we make a right use of, perhaps the point may be gained. For first of all, those whom the great King Confides in, and takes to be in his Interest, hate *Philip*, and are at War with him. In the next place, *Philip's* Agent, and Confident to all his Preparations against the King ; this Man has been Spirited away, and the King will hear all these practises, not from our Informations (whom he might think to speak for our own Interest) but from the very Actor and Manager of them. So that the Information will obtain Credit, and your Embassadors will have occasion to say nothing but what the King would gladly hear ; that is, that we ought jointly to Revenge our common Injuries ; and that *Philip* will be more formidable to the King ; if he set upon us first.

For

For if ought befall us being deserted, after that he will March against him without any concern. Now for all these purposes I think you ought to send an Embassy, to negotiate with the King; and lay aside that foolish prejudice, by which you have often Suffered: That he is a Barbarian, that he is a Common Enemy to Greece, and such like notions. For I, when I see any one afraid of a man at *Susa* and *Ecbatana*, and telling us of his ill will to this Common-wealth, altho' he formerly assisted to restore the affairs of this Common-wealth, and now has offered the same; (for if you would not admit of it, but publicly rejected it, sure 'twas not his fault.) But as for the Man, that's Just entering our very Doors, that Growing Robber of *Grecians* in the Heart of *Greece*, tells another Story, I wonder at, and am Afraid of this man for my part whosoever he be, because he is not afraid

afraid of *Philip*. But there is another Business too, that pesters the Public, as 'tis traduced by injurious railing and indecent Speeches; and so yields a pretence to those that are loath to perform any of the Services they owe to the Public; and in every defect, where some body ought to have seen the thing down, you will find the blame laid upon this. I am indeed very apprehensive of mentioning this thing, yet notwithstanding, I will speak: For I think I shall have somethings to offer to the Richmen on behalf of the Poor; for the Public Service; and likewise to the needy on behalf of the men of Estates. If we could take from among us, those railings which some people Injuriously make about the Money appropriated to the Theatre; and likewise the fear that this affair will not be determin'd without some great Mischief; there is nothing greater that we could contribute

tribute to our present Circumstances, nor any thing that would more Strengthen every part of our Commonwealth. Take it but in this view. I will speak in the First place for those that seem to be in Want. There was a time, not long since, when the public Revenue of this State did not exceed One Hundred and Thirty Talents, and there is not any one of those in a condition to fit out his Gally, or Advance to the Exchequer, who did not think fit to do his duty, because the Public Money did not hold out ; but the Gallies failed, and Money was rais'd, and we did all those things that became us. After this Fortune being favourable to us encreas'd the Public Revenue, and our Income is now Four Hundred Talents instead of One, without any detriment to any one of the Men of Estates ; nay to the Advantage : for all the Wealthy men go and take their Shares
in

in the Management; and they do well. What is then the matter that we reproach one another about this thing, and make it a pretence for not doing what's Incumbent on us? Unless it be that we Envy this assistance of Fortune that hath happened to the Poor; whom I can never blame my self, nor like it in others. For neither in Private Families do I see so much as one Young man carry himself so perversly or foolishly to his Elders as to say, That he will do nothing neither, unless every one do as much as himself: for then he would be liable to the Laws of Ill Behaviour. For surely he is bound both by Nature and by the Laws duely to bear and chearfully to contribute to his Parents, that part, which is by each of them appointed him. As therefore each of us in our private capacity hath a Parent; so ye ought to esteem the whole People the Common Parents of this Commonwealth;

monwealth; and that it is not only right, That nothing be taken from them, which the Constitution gives them; but likewise if there was no such provision, That some other Consideration be taken, so as their want of any thing should not be over-look't. Thus, for the Wealthy, I Judge, by falling into this Notion, they will be true not only to Justice but Interest also. For to deprive any Body of your People of what is necessary for their Subsistence, is to make Many Enemies to your Affairs. The necessitous likewise I would Advise to take away the cause of discontent and complaint which the Men of Substance have: for I proceed in the same manner as I did just now, having no shyness to speak the Truth on the behalf also of the Wealthy. For I, for my part, believe there's no Body of so wretched and Barbarous a Temper (I mean not of the *Athenians*, but not so

much as of any other Nation) as to be Grieved when he sees the Poor, and those that want necessities, receiving theses Advantages. But Where then doth the thing Grate? And Where is the Uneasiness? When they see some persons transferring this Custom, from the Public Stock, to private men's Estates; and the Mover of it immediately Considerable among you, and as far as safety can make him so Immortal: and likewise their Secret suffrage differing from their Public Clamour. These are the things that create diffidence and ill Blood. For ye ought, O Men of *Athens*, to communicate fairly to one another the Benefits of your Constitution; The wealthy reckoning upon Security for their Livelihood, and being in no apprehension concerning it, but in Dangers yielding their substance to the Publick for its safety: The rest of the People, reckoning upon the Publick Stock as such,

and

and partaking their Shares; but Private Estates as peculiar to the Possessor. Thus even a Small State becomes great, and a Great one is preserved so. These things it seems then, as any Body would be ready to say, are what either part should do: but how they may also be Effected regularly is Necessary to be boldly declared. For many of the Causes of your present Circumstances, and Confusion are of a long standing, which if ye are willing to hear, I am ready to rehearse. O Men of *Athens*, you are gone off the Basis upon which your Ancestors left you: And as for being at the Head of the *Greeks*, and Keeping Powers on foot, and Succouring all that should be wrong'd, you have been induced to reckon it an Impertinence, and a Vain Expence, by the Managers of that side. But in living still at Peace, and doing nothing as occasion requires, but giving things up one after another,

per-

permitting others to Seize all, you
 think there consists a wonderful Hap-
 piness, and a full Security. Upon all
 this, another stepping into the Post
 ye ought to have held, is of course be-
 come Potent and Great, and Master
 of almost all. For this Rich and Great
 and Glorious thing, for which the
 mightiest States ever contended toge-
 ther; while the *Spartans* were disa-
 bled, the *Thebans* taken up with the
Phocian War; and We never mind-
 ed it, hath He born away without
 any Competitor. And thus he
 hath effectually obtained on the one
 hand to be fear'd abroad, and on the
 other to have many Allies, and a
 mighty military Power: and so
 Many and so Great difficulties have
 already Surrounded all *Greece* that
 it is not easie even to Advise What
 is good to be done. But the pre-
 sent circumstances, O men of *A-*
thens, being terrible, in my judg-
 ment to All, there are none of them
 all in Greater Danger than Your
 L selves;

selves; not only because *Philip* designs
 against You Most, but likewise be-
 cause you are the Most Negligently
 disposed of them all. Now if you
 sooth your selves with this, that
 you see great Stores of Merchan-
 dize, and a Throng'd Exchange as
 if your Commonwealth was in no
 danger; you judge neither agreea-
 bly nor rightly. For from These
 things one might judge indeed Whe-
 ther the Exchange and the Marts
 are ill or well Provided; but as for
 That State, which He knows, who-
 soever he be that should at any time
 attempt the Dominion of *Greece*,
 would alone Oppose him, and ap-
 pear at the Head of the Common
 Liberty: By *Jupiter* there is no
 trying it by Trade, whether it be
 in a good condition or not. But
 for That State these things are to
 be considered, Whether it can de-
 pend upon the Friendship of its Al-
 lies, and Whether it be powerful
 in Armed Force: all which things
 with

with you are, so far from being in a Good condition, that they are in a very Bad one. And this you may know if you consider thus: When were the affairs of the *Gracians* in the greatest disorder? Why no man can assign any other time than the very present: for in all former times the affairs of the *Gracians* were divided into these two Interests, the *Lacedamonian* and Ours; and of the rest of the *Gracians* some followed Us, others the *Lacedamonians*: but the *Persian* in himself was equally suspected to all, and only taking part with those, who were beaten, was so far trusted till he had set them on an equal foot with the other; and then immediately he was as much hated by those whom he had saved, as were their Original Enemies. But now, in the First place this King is in Amity with all the *Gracians*, but least of all with us, unless at this time we put that affair in some better

Order. In the Next place, we have many pretences to be Head of the League, and from all quarters. And as for the Precedence all claim it; and yet some stand aloof, and Envy, and are Jealous of one another; Which is all wrong. And each is upon his Separate Bottom, the *Argives*, the *Thebans*, the *Corinthians*, the *Lacedamonians*, the *Arcadians*, our Selves. And yet, notwithstanding the *Gracian* affairs are divided into so many parts, and distinct Governments, (if I must speak the truth boldly) one can see none of all their Senates or Councils less busied about the affairs of *Greece* than Yours; and that of Course: For no body enters into any Negotiation with us, out of Love, or Confidence, or Fear. And the cause of this, O Men of *Athens*, is not single; (then we might easily set it right) but many and various and continual miscarriages. Omitting the particulars of

of which, I shall declare one, but in which all the rest Center ; first intreating you, if I speak the Truth Freely, that ye would not in the least take it ill. The opportunities that might be improved for your advantage are Bought and Sold ; and You indeed Partake of Peace and quiet, by which being charmed, you carry your selves easily to those that abuse you ; but Others keep to Themselves the purchase Money. And as for Other matters, It is not to my purpose nicely to examine them now ; But ^{when} any thing falls before you that relates to *Philip*, Some body Starting up perswades you not to play the Fool and declare a War, laying it forth plainly ; How Good a thing it is to live in Peace, and How Troublesome to maintain a Great Army, and That some men would fain be Plundering the public Treasure : and such other speeches they make, as they pretend,

very full of truth. But, I doubt, The occasion is, not to perswade You to live in Peace, who sit still being Very well perswaded to it, but Him that is so busie in making War, for if He be perswaded, as to You, the work is already done. Nor ought we to esteem Grievous what we Expend for our Safety; but what we shall Suffer, unless we are content to do so: Nor go to prevent the Plunder that's apprehended of Public Treasure, by Deserting the Necessities of the State; but by finding out a Secure method for its preservation. And yet I confess This very thing is what I cannot bear; That some of you are so Much concern'd for fear our Treasure should be Plundered; which to set a Secure guard on, and to Punish those that attempt it, are both in your Own power: But *Philip* Plundering at this rate all *Greece* without distinction, and that in the Direct Road to You, gives them
No

No concern. How at last comes it to pass then, O Men of *Athens*, That no Body ever hath once told you, that He who thus manifestly does wrong, and seizes for his own whole Nations, doth any Wrong, or makes any War; but they affirm That those Make the War, who speak to you against Suffering him, and Giving up all these things? Because all of them are willing to lay the blame of all those difficulties, that shall be occasioned by the War, (and there is a Necessity, an Unavoidable necessity, that Many grievous things shall happen from War) upon those that Sincerely advise for your True Interest. For they are of Opinion, If ye Unanimously with one Spirit Return the War upon *Philip*, both, that You will overcome him, and that there will be no more Earning of Pensions for Them: but, If upon the first Disorders that shall happen in your affairs, you Charge them upon some

Particulars, and turn from Fighting to Trying, that themselves by managing their Prosecution shall carry Both these points, a high Reputation with You, and good Summs from Him; and that you on the Same accounts for which ye ought to take Vengeance on Them, will take it upon Those that have Spoke for your Interest. These are their very hopes: and the Foundation which they have for Accusations is, That some certain People desire to Begin the War. But I for my part am absolutely Sure of this, That altho' no one of the *Athenians* has yet proposed a Decree for War, *Philip* is Possessed of many Other things that belong to this Commonwealth, and also at This very time hath sent Assistance to the *Cardians*. However, if we ourselves will have it that he is Not at War with us, He would be the most Senseless man in the World, if he should endeavour to Confute

us

us in this point: For if those that Suffer Injuries disown them, what need he care that Doth them? But when he comes upon Us ourselves, What shall we say then? For He will say that he is not at War with us, as he said also to the *Oritæ*, when his Army was in their Country; and to the *Pheræans*, till he gave an Assault to their Walls; and to the *Olynthians* at First, till he was arrived in *Person* with his Army within their very Territory. Shall we Then too say, That those who exhort us to Defend our selves, Make the War? And is there any thing Remains, but Slavery? For there is Nothing else in Nature. And yet Our danger is not on an Equal foot neither, with that of some Other People: for it is not *Philip's* design to Subject our Commonwealth; no: but utterly to Extirpate it. For he knows very well, That You will neither be content to be Slaves, nor if you could, will

you know how : For you have used to Command ; and you will be able, if you get an opportunity, to give him more Trouble than all Mankind besides. For which reasons he will never spare You, if he gets you in his power. You have reason therefore, to resolve with your selves, That the Dispute will be for matters of the Last consequence ; And for those that have Sold themselves to him, publickly to express your Detestation, and fall upon them with your own Hands. For it is an Absolute impossibility to Prevail against your Enemies Abroad, till you have punished those at Home ; For of necessity you will break your selves against these Outworks as it were, and never Come at the other. For, Whence is it, think ye, that he now Insults You ? For to me he appears to do no less ; and for Others, to Deceive 'em, at worst, by Kindnesses ; but
 You

You directly to Menace. For example: he subdued the *Thessalians* into their present slavery by giving them many advantages. Nor can a man Reckon up all the artifices whereby he deceived the poor *Olynthians*; as by first giving them *Potidaea*, and abundance of other things. At this Day he's a subduing the *Thebans*, by yielding to them *Bæotia*, and ridding 'em of a long and heavy War. So that each of these having First reapt some Advantage, Suffer some of them Now, what I think every one knows; and the rest, as their Turn comes, must Suffer. But You—— what he has taken from you I pass by: But in the very Treaty of Peace, in how many cases were ye deceived? Of how many Rights were ye deprived? Did he not secure the *Phocians*? *Pyle*? The places in *Thrace*? *Doriscum*? *Serrhium*? *Cersobleptes* himself? Is he not at This time getting
Cardia

Cardia from you, and Avows it? What then can the matter be, That he treats not Others and You in the Same manner? Because of All Governments in Ours alone Free Liberty is given to Speak for the Interest of the Enemy. And the very Man that gets the Money can Safely make his Speeches before You, altho' you your selves have at the same time had your Own Taken from you. It had not been Safe at *Olynthus* to have spoke for the Interest of *Philip*, if the People themselves had not shared in the advantage by the gaining *Potidaea*. It had not been safe in *Theffaly* to have spoke for the Interest of *Philip*, if the Body of the *Theffalians* had not shared in the advantage, by *Philip's* driving out their Tyrants for them, and restoring the Privileges of the *Amphiſſi-ones*. At *Thebes* it had not been safe, before he gave them up *Bæotia*, and destroyed the *Phocians*. But at *A-*
thens

thens After *Philip* has not only Taken from us *Amphipolis* and the Country of the *Cardians*, but is forming also our Blocade by means of *Eubæa*, and at this time marching towards *Byzantium*, It is safe to Speak for the Interest of *Philip*: Nay, and of the Speakers divers from Beggars are become Rich of a sudden, and from men of No name or repute, Reputable and Eminent; but You, the contrary, from Honourable, Inglorious, and from Wealthy, Indigent. For I esteem the Riches of a State to be Allies, Credit, and the Good will of it's Neighbours; in all which things ye are Indigent and unprovided. And, Ever since you became regardless of these things, and permitted your affairs to be carried in this manner; He is grown Rich, and Great, and Formidable to all the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*: but you your selves Deserted and Contemptible: Making a Brave Shew
indeed

indeed with the abundance of Merchandice, but in the provision of things Necessary for such times, Ridiculous. But I find some of your Advisers consulting in a different manner Yours and their Own affairs. For they say that 'tis fit for You to live in Peace and quiet, even if any one Doth you Injuries: but They themselves cannot live here in Peace and quiet, when they are injured by No body. For (hard words apart) If any Body should say, Tell me, *Aristodemus*, Why now do you that very well Know (for no one can be Ignorant in this case) that a Private Life is Stable and Free from Trouble and Danger, and that of the Dealers in Public Affairs Quarrellsome and Slippery, and daily fill'd with Labours and Mischief; Why do you not choose that life which is Quiet and Easie, but that in the midst of Dangers? What would you say? For if we should allow for True,
that

that which is the Best you can say;
 That 'tis for the love of Glory and
 Honour that you do all these things:
 I admire how Possibly you can think,
 that for the sake of These 'tis fit
 for Your self to do, to Toil through,
 and to Hazard every thing, and at
 the same time advise the Public La-
 zily to Give them up. For This
 you would not say, That it's neces-
 sary for You to make a Figure in
 the State, but the State it self None
 among the rest of *Greece*. And yet
 I can't see this neither, That it is
 Safe for the Commonwealth to
 meddle only with what Immedi-
 ately concerns it self, but that it is
 Dangerous for You, not to be Bu-
 sier than the rest of the World:
 The just Contrary I do, That You
 by being a man of Business and
 Overbusie are in the Last of Dan-
 gers, and the State by Sitting still.
 But You have I warrant a Stock of
 Reputation from your Grandfather
 and Father; and it is base for it
 to

to Cease in your Person: and the Commonwealth hath nothing but what's Obscure and vile from our Ancestors? No, that is not so neither. For Your Father was a Thief if he was like you; but Those of our Commonwealth Such, as all the *Greeks* Know well by a double deliverance from the greatest dangers by the hands of our Ancestors. But it seems some of your Statesmen do not manage their Own affairs and those of their Country with Equality, nor like Fair Fellow Citizens. For How is it equal that some of these from the Gaol should be Grown to that degree as to forget themselves, and in the mean time have Levell'd their Country, which Stood the Protector of all the rest of *Greece*, and held the First rank, to the Lowest dishonour and contempt? Tho I have still Much to say and concerning Many things, I will forbear: for it is not for Want of
 von
 Words,

Words, in my Opinion, neither Now nor at any Other time heretofore, that your Affairs are in an ill condition : but Your selves still, having heard what is for your Interest, and being Convinced that right advice is given you, sit Hearing with the same regard those that have a mind to Poison and Pervert all ; Not for want of Knowing 'em at the same time : For you Distinguish perfectly at First sight, who Speaks for his Pension, and who manages us for *Philip* ; and who Speaks right Honestly for our Greatest good : But it Is, that Impeaching these persons and throwing the Business into Ridicule and Railing, you Your selves may be Excused from doing what is Necessary. This is The truth, told you for your best Advantage, with all Frankness, Downright, out of Sincere affection : not a Speech filled with Flattery and Mischief and Deceit, such as would make Money

ney for the Speaker, and put the Affairs of the Commonwealth into the Hands of its Enemies. Ye must therefore either put a Stop to these ways, or Impeach no body but Your Own selves for the ill condition of all your affairs.



FINIS.

